REPORT RESUMES

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN--A STUDY OF BARRIERS TO EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN A LARGE CITY. REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION.

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IN MARCH 1966, THE DETROIT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION REQUESTED THAT THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CONDUCT A FULL SCALE INVESTIGATION OF THE ALLEGED GROSS INEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO DETROIT'S YOUTH. THE COMMISSION DISCOVERED THAT THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM LAY IN THE STRUCTURE AND SUBSTANCE OF THE URBAN SOCIETY ITSELF. SINCE 1950, THERE HAS BEEN A RAPID MOVEMENT OF MIDDLE AND UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS WHITES TO THE SUBURBS AND A LARGE IMMIGRATION OF LOW-INCOME NEGROES INTO THE CENTER CITY. BUSINESSES HAVE MOVED TO THE SUBURBS, AND THE LOWERED TAX BASE AND PROPERTY VALUE HAVE RESULTED IN A LACK OF TAX FUNDS FOR THE FINANCING OF CENTER CITY EDUCATION. IN CONSEQUENCE, THERE IS AN INSUFFICIENCY OF CLASSROOM SPACE AND QUALIFIED TEACHERS, EXCESSIVELY HIGH TEACHER TURNOVER, COMMUNICATION FAILURE BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION AND TEACHING STAFF AND BETWEEN SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ECONOMICALLY DISSADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES, DE FACTO SEGREGATION, AND AN ACHIEVEMENT GAP BETWEEN LOW-INCOME AREA SCHOOLS AND MIDDLE- AND UPPER-INCOME AREA SCHOOLS. THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDED DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTER CITY IN THE AREAS OF (1) FISCAL REFORM, (2) TEACHER PREPARATION, (3) URBAN PLANNING, (4) DE FACTO SEGREGATION, (5) HIGHER EDUCATION, AND (6) PUBLIC RELATIONS. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE AS NEA STOCK NUMBER--165-04948 25M FROM THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036. (HW)

REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION ★

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Detroit, Michigan

A STUDY OF BARRIERS
TO EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
IN A LARGE CITY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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**NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS
AND RESPONSIBILITIES
of the
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES**

MARCH 1967

EA 000 536

The National Education Association, with its affiliated organizations, represents more than one million American teachers and, therefore, is in a position to speak for the teaching profession of the United States.

In 1941 the National Education Association organized the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education to help develop understanding of the important relationship between a better education for all our people and the maintenance of our American democracy and way of life and to bring to the teaching profession greater strength and unity in working for increased democracy in and through education. In 1961 the Representative Assembly merged the Commission with the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom to form the National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. The functions of this Commission are—

1. To defend members of the teaching profession, schools, and the cause of education against unjust attacks; to investigate controversies involving teachers and schools justly, fearlessly, and in the public interest.

2. To encourage the development and use of personnel policies that attract and hold competent professional personnel and prevent unnecessary difficulties.

3. To aid in improvement and extension of state tenure legislation.

4. To promote the civil and human rights of members of the teaching profession and foster conditions of academic freedom under which teachers may safely teach the truth without fear or favor.

5. To gather information about the various individuals and groups who criticize or oppose education and make résumés of their activities.

6. To investigate cases of alleged unethical conduct by members of the teaching profession when requested to do so by the Committee on Professional Ethics.

7. To investigate charges and report to the NEA Executive Committee the name of any member who violates the requirements of Article I of the NEA Bylaws.

8. To issue reports and engage in such other activities as are appropriate to the development of better understanding by the profession and the public of the areas of concern which are the responsibility of the Commission.

March 1967
National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities
of the
National Education Association of the United States
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

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FOREWORD

A large city, as compared with other communities, has a number of advantages to offer its residents. A large number of people living in a relatively small space can provide for each other adequate public utilities, varied recreational and cultural services, and superior educational opportunities for their children, all at comparatively little cost to each. This is true so long as a fair and equitable tax structure exists and so long as there remains a good balance between those residents who are in the upper income bracket and those in the lower income bracket. But when large numbers of upper-income residents move out, taking with them their earnings and their tax dollars from the support of city services, living in a large city, for those low-income residents who have to remain, becomes at first unpleasant and then unbearable.

This is what has happened in many of our big cities, even as it has happened to Detroit. As the report indicates, the inner city is currently populated by those who are economically and in large part racially segregated from the rest of American society.

There is no freedom without economic freedom, and every citizen of this country is entitled to be free. It has been shown many times that the more education an individual has, the more he is capable of earning. We cannot afford to continue to deny freedom to large segments of our population by continuing to deny them equal educational opportunity and thus the right to equal economic opportunity. As the report states, "Throughout the nation it is becoming increasingly obvious that traditional methods of public school support will no longer adequately serve the needs of a mobile population, 70 percent of which is now concentrated in metropolitan areas."

The report commends the various citizens groups which have come to grips with the many problems related to providing equal educational opportunity for every child in every school in Detroit. The report urges even further effort on the part of not only citizens groups but also teachers, parents organizations, churches, bankers, merchants, legislators, and all other members of the power structure to effect a resolution of this problem.

The Special Committee had to work under many unusual restrictions. Its findings and conclusions are presented in good faith, with the hope that they may be helpful to the citizens of Detroit in improving their public schools, and thus taking a big step forward in rebuilding a city in which it will be pleasant for all of its citizens to live.

As the report says, "It should be clear that the support of public education can no longer be considered purely in a local or even in a regional context. Ignorance cannot be held in quarantine. The consequences of miseducation and undereducation of American youth—in whatever region they may occur—are cumulative and nationwide."

Cornelius E. Gisriel, *Chairman*
Commission on Professional Rights
and Responsibilities,
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Introduction

Chronology of the Investigation

March 10, 1966: In response to the request of a local affiliate, the Detroit Education Association (DEA), the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association (NEA PR&R Commission) authorized a full-scale investigation of public school conditions in Detroit, Michigan.

April 3-6, 1966: A Special Committee of educators appointed by the NEA PR&R Commission conducted interviews in Detroit, meeting with parents, school employees, social workers, and spokesmen for various community groups in the city. During this initial phase of the study, the Detroit superintendent and Board of Education, on advice of legal counsel, refused the Special Committee's request to visit selected schools and to interview school officials on the grounds that to grant such permission might provoke a charge of unfair labor practices by the majority teachers organization.* At the conclusion of its first visit in the city, the NEA Special Committee announced that the Detroit investigation would continue despite the barriers that had been raised against it by the school administration and Board.

April 27-May 15, 1966: By direction of the NEA Special Committee, a special staff assistant was appointed to operate a part-time office in Detroit for the purpose of continuing the Committee's fact-finding assignment and arranging for a schedule of interviews for continuation of the on-site investigation.

May 10-15, 1966: Five members of the NEA Special Committee, accompanied by PR&R staff and special assistants, revisited Detroit to complete the on-site investigation of school conditions.

Statement of the Problems

The NEA Special Committee for the Detroit investigation was asked by members of the DEA to study the problems that daily engage an undersupply of teachers and an overflow of students, many of whom are confronting each other, teacher and student, from sharply disparate backgrounds and many of whom are failing to make meaningful contact with each other across lines of culture, race, and economic class.

A major concern expressed by teachers to the NEA Special Committee and to the PR&R Commission's staff preliminary inquiry team had to do with the insufficiency of funds that have been made available for operation of Detroit Public Schools. Along with a decline in the economic and educational level of the urban population, there has been a depression of taxable property valuations, from which local school revenues are derived. At the time of the investigation, the erosion of the urban tax base, the refusal of Detroit voters to approve an increase in the school tax rate, and the inadequacy of state funds to compensate for the local school finance deficit had brought the school system to a state of perpetual financial emergency.

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* The Appendix records more fully the singular circumstances that, although irrelevant to the intent of this study, greatly influenced its procedural development.

Against a backdrop of failing public school support and critical complexities of educational need, the most obvious problems of the Detroit Public Schools were outlined by educators during the Special Committee's first visit to Detroit in April 1966. Chief among these reported problems were—

- The insufficiency of classroom space and qualified classroom teachers and, in consequence, the prevalence of—
    - Overcrowded classrooms
    - Split sessions in many of the high schools
    - Extensive assignment to regular positions of emergency substitutes, many of whom are uncertificated and without degrees
    - Assignment of teachers out of their field to fill vacancies in areas of greatest teacher shortage
    - Overburdened teaching schedules leaving insufficient time for classroom preparation, staff planning, and carrying out of in-service educational programs
- Excessively high teacher turnover rates, particularly in low-income neighborhoods of the city—a problem reportedly intensified by the teacher rotation policy, which provides for automatic transfer of teachers after completion of a probationary period of three years
- A failure of communication between the school administration and the teaching staff and between the school system and its economically disadvantaged communities
- The system-wide adherence, with only occasional exceptions, to curricular, text, and supplementary materials that are reflective of a white, middle-class society, although 25 percent of the students attending Detroit Public Schools are classified as "economically and culturally disadvantaged" and 54 percent are Negroes
- The achievement gap between students in low-income area schools and those attending schools in middle- and upper-income neighborhoods—a disparity that increases as the students move upward through the grades

- The insufficiency of specialized professional staff to provide remedial, counseling, guidance, health, and psychological services to students whose impoverished home environments have impaired their ability to conform to the academic and behavioral standards of the classroom
- The small percentage of Negro youth enrolled in work experience and apprentice training programs conducted by the school system in cooperation with Detroit businesses and industries
- High rates of student dropout and truancy in economically disadvantaged urban communities.

As the NEA Special Committee looked and listened, it soon became evident that, at root, what distressed teachers was the feeling that there is gross inequality in the educational opportunities available to Detroit children and youth. This, then, became the focus of the Special Committee's study.

It further became evident, as the study progressed, that the educational inequities in Detroit schools have their basis in the structure and substance of the urban society itself: Roughly by thirds, following the racial and economic segregation of Detroit neighborhoods, the school system is divided into (a) schools with 90 percent or more white enrollments, located in predominantly white, relatively stable, middle-class fringe areas of the city; (b) tenuously integrated transitional area schools serving a complex of economically and racially changing communities; and (c) schools with 90 percent or more Negro enrollments, located in the inner-city areas of hard core poverty and racial segregation.

Scope and Purpose of Study

The testimony of teachers and lay citizens touched upon virtually every aspect of public education and virtually everything that can go wrong with it. It would be neither possible nor appropriate within the limited scope of this study to cover the broad spectrum of school and school-related concerns that have been expressed to the NEA Special Committee.

Cited below are areas of testimony excluded from the report and the reasons for their exclusions:

1. Some specific grievances of Detroit teachers are excluded because they are peripheral to the focal areas of this study; they are either "bargaining items" or items of conflict between the majority and minority teachers groups and, as such, outside the purview of this committee. Such matters will be mentioned, however, whether subject to collective bargaining or not, when they appear to be causative,

exacerbating, or derivative factors in the problems of educational inequality.

2. The myriad deficiencies reported in school equipment, facilities, physical plant, and supplies will be mentioned only in general terms. The Special Committee fully recognizes the importance of a physical environment and educational materials and facilities that are appropriate to effective teaching and learning. Nevertheless, these factors are not given detailed attention in this report because they do appear to be secondary to the more critical problems that stand in the way of equalizing educational opportunities.

In this report and analysis of its findings, the NEA Special Committee will attempt to go beyond the symptoms to the sources of educational disorder; to identify institutional (and individual) attitudes, policies, and practices that have served to further entrench the inequities of a racially and economically stratified society and school system; and to expose the critically mounting consequences of continued inequity.

It is the Committee's hope that its report will suggest to Detroit educators how vital and how logical it is for them, in coalition with other community groups, to array themselves more effectively with the forces that strive for constructive change within the school system and within the city. For at the deeper causative level, the areas of economic, social, political, and educational inequality all converge.

Background

Detroit Public School District

The tri-county metropolitan area (Wayne, Macomb, and Oakland) of which Detroit is the central city covers 1,965 square miles of Southeastern Michigan. These three counties contain 93 independent school districts enrolling approximately 50 percent of the pupils attending Michigan public schools. The City of Detroit School System is one of the 43 school districts in Wayne County. An intermediate county school district functions as a link between the state and local districts; is responsible for the recording and reporting of pupil attendance, school district organization, and tax data; and provides consultative educational services to constituent school districts upon request.

In 1965-66, the Detroit Public School System enrolled approximately 295,000 pupils and employed a staff of 17,400, of whom 11,500 were classified as professional employees. The city district is divided into nine administrative regions headed by field executives under the overall direction of the central administration. The 294 * regular day schools in the district are grouped for attendance purposes into high school "constellations," each containing a high school and its feeder junior high and elementary schools.

The incumbent superintendent of schools at the time of the NEA investigation in Detroit, who had served in this position since 1956, has since retired. The former assistant superintendent for school relations and special services was named acting superintendent for the 1966-67 school year. References to the Detroit superintendent of schools in this report denote the former superintendent.

The legal responsibility for governance of the Detroit Public Schools is vested in a seven-member Board of Education, elected at large to staggered six-year terms of office. Detroit School Board members are elected on nonpartisan ballots, as are all of the city's elected officials.

The City and the Metropolis

The public school system, a product of the communities it serves, cannot be meaningfully evaluated in isolation from its community environment. There is no facet of urban life that does not involve the schools. Converged upon the City of Detroit and its public schools are myriad forces that have

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* This was the number of regular day schools during the 1965-66 school year.

brought with them a complex of problems with no precedent for solution. It is relevant, therefore, to review the rapid sequence of urban change. The economic decline of the city; the changing characteristics of its population; the vast technological upheaval that, as it occurs, continues to widen the gap between available skills and available work opportunities; the racial and economic ghettoization of the inner city; the unofficial but powerful controls exerted by absentee financiers and landowners who have profited from the city and have taken their profits with them to the suburbs: these are among the conditions of urban life that diminish the resources of public education while they intensify the crucial nature, and enlarge the necessary scope, of educational responsibility.

The Central City. Historically the center and major beneficiary of an industrializing economy and, through foreign immigration, of a vigorous, culturally diversifying population, the American city in recent decades has become a congested and blighted core of metropolitan sprawl, its energies depleted by the very forces that gave it strength.

The central city of Detroit is particularly qualified for the paradoxical role of victim as well as beneficiary of its own industrial giantism; for while the means of powerful, long-distance transportation and communications made possible the urbanization of the nation, Detroit's own contribution to modern times, the automobile, made possible its rapid and random suburbanization, through which the city has suffered serious losses in corporate and residential wealth and leadership.

Before the days of suburban flight, as the assembly lines of Detroit set the nation moving on rubber-tired wheels, they also attracted successive waves of European immigrants to the city. In little more than one generation—between 1890 and 1940—Detroit grew from 25 percent to approximately 90 percent of its present population.

With the cessation of large-scale foreign immigration during World War I, Detroit's first major domestic importation of workers (largely Southern whites and Negroes) took place, spurred by war demands for increased automobile and airplane production and by the elaboration of assembly line methods permitting greater use of unskilled labor.

The rural Southern Negroes who have come to Detroit during the past 20 years, however, have not come as imported laborers. In large numbers, they have come to this and other Northern and Western cities seeking a place to work and to live because both have been lost to them in the South.

As the spread of industrial and commercial corporations has crowded out the small business entrepreneur and as the growth of technology in industry has rendered the unskilled industrial worker obsolescent, so has the industrial-technological revolution invaded the countryside, swallowing up the small farm and displacing the unskilled farm laborer with machine power. First to be displaced and least likely to be hired in the cities to which they fled were the Negro people. And for many of them the hope of new opportunity in the North has not been realized; the farm-to-city move has brought only an exchange of rural poverty for urban poverty, of racial segregation by law for racial segregation in fact.

The shift of populations in and out of the City of Detroit during the past several decades has followed the nationwide trend. With the increasing concentration of low-income, nonwhite population in the central city, there has been a countering dispersal of white, middle- and upper-income groups to the urban fringe and beyond. In Detroit there are now more than 300,000 fewer whites and 370,000 more nonwhites in the core city than in 1930.

Left behind in the declining downtown areas are the aged, the impoverished, and the Negro. Detroit's middle-class Negro residents have pressed outward to middle-aged, transitional urban areas, barred by racial restrictions typical of suburban developments from going farther. The resident population of urban neighborhoods has shifted and reshifted to maintain the barriers of caste and class. The blighted inner city has become increasingly a racial and economic ghetto.

Manufacturing and service industries have to a significant degree followed the course of residential affluence, moving out beyond the city limits where space availability is greater, land is cheaper, and consumer dollars are more abundant than in the congested, deteriorating core city. A comparison of 1950 and 1960 U.S. Census data shows that between those years, Detroit's share of the metropolitan area retail sales volume declined from 60.5 percent to 51.1 percent; the central city experienced a manufacturing employment loss of 34.4 percent.

What has happened, and continues to happen, completes for the lower-class Negro a vicious circle of unemployment and poverty. Blue-collar job opportunities—along with white-collar workers—continue to move to the suburbs. The Negro, typically, does not live in the suburbs. Whether or not he has employable skills to offer, he is separated by miles of freeway-bound metropolis from the marketplaces where his skills, and his willingness and ability to learn new skills, could be put to work—so that he also could be a distributor of consumer dollars, rather than a taker of welfare doles.

The Metropolitan Area. Spreading out from the City of Detroit are the white residential preserves of the suburbs and the rapidly growing satellite cities of the metropolis, insulated from the congestion, poverty, and strife of the central city by the administrative autonomy of city, township, and village charters.

In 1964, the tri-county metropolitan area of Detroit contained 246 separate and independent units of local government: the three county units, 57 cities, 77 incorporated townships and villages, 99 school districts, and 8 special service districts or authorities.[1] The costs of government in the central city have mounted and the resources to support its operations have declined as the network of metropolitan governments has grown. The benefits of services provided by the core municipality and the consequences of its social, economic, and educational problems transcend intergovernmental boundaries. Leaders at the state and regional level, recognizing this, have called for a metropolitan approach toward solving the problems and supporting the services that affect the entire region and ending the inefficiences and waste that accrue from the fragmentation of metropolitan governments, not only in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne Counties), but throughout the six counties that comprise Metropolitan Southeastern Michigan. But the metropolitan and regional planning organizations have only advisory authority, and so far, they have not been able to overcome the zealousness with which the various communities guard their separate jurisdictions.

The Statistics of Change. Statistics tell Detroit's story of urban blight and suburban flight.

Between 1950 and 1960, the central city of Detroit experienced a population loss of 9.7 percent. The Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) increased in population by 24.7 percent; and the metropolitan areas excluding the central city had a population gain of 79.1 percent (Table 1).

The central city's population loss, however, was confined to the economically productive age groups. Among the population aged 20 to 64, from whom one could expect the greatest taxpaying ability and concern with school and civic affairs, there was a loss to the city of 22.4 percent from 1950 to 1960. But during this same period, the central city population aged 65 and over increased by more than 50 percent and among the age groups under 20 there was a gain of slightly over 6 percent.

Also during the 1950-1960 decade, the Detroit central city gained more than 183,000 nonwhite residents—an increase of 60.4 percent. Over the 10-year period the percentage of nonwhites of the total urban population increased from 16.5 to 29.2; the percentage of nonwhites of the total SMSA population grew from 12.0 to 15.1.

TABLE 1

Changes in Total Population and Among Age Groups:[2] Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

Age groups	*Central city*			*Detroit SMSA excluding central city*	
	1950	*1960*		*1950*	*1960*
under 10	323,545	332,852	+6.2% (total % change, age groups under 20)	256,870	556,396
percent change	+0.28			+116.6	
10–19	227,798	253,364		164,876	340,483
percent change	+10.1			+106.5	
20–34	483,064	287,788	−22.4% (total % change, age groups 20–64)	293,747	415,369
percent change	−40.4			+ 41.4	
35–44	284,286	240,270		171,144	314,964
percent change	−15.1			+ 83.8	
45–64	425,783	397,505		220,659	354,324
percent change	− 6.6			+ 60.5	
65 and over	105,092	158,385		41,013	110,930
percent change	+50.6			+270.5	
Total population	1,849,568	1,670,144		1,166,629	2,092,216
percent change	− 9.7			+ 79.1	

Median age central city	1950	31.6
" " " "	1960	33.2
Median age SMSA, including Detroit	1950	30.4
" " " " "	1960	29.4

SMSA population *including* City of Detroit—1950—3,016,197
SMSA population *including* City of Detroit—1960—3,762,360
percent change—+24.7

With these population shifts, the city has suffered significant losses in resident wealth and taxpaying ability. Since 1955, the earning power of urban families has consistently declined in relation to that of suburban and satellite-city dwellers.

Table 2 shows that in 1955, family income levels were somewhat higher in Detroit than in its metropolitan environs. This economic ascendancy of the central city exists no longer. Between 1955 and 1965 in Macomb County there was an increase of $3,041 in the median effective buying income per household; in Oakland County the increase amounted to $4,635. In the city of Detroit, slowest to recover from the 1958 recession, the gain in family net income level was only $1,047.

TABLE 2

Median Effective Buying Incomes Per Household[3] (Central City, Wayne County, including City, Macomb and Oakland Counties)

	1955	*1959*	*1961*	*1965*	*Total increase*
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Detroit	$7,660	$6,608	$6,586	$ 8,707	$1,047
Wayne Co.	7,456	6,578	7,141	9,415	1,959
Macomb Co.	6,254	5,912	7,188	9,295	3,041
Oakland Co.	7,112	6,588	8,951	11,751	4,639

The median family income level, although a recognized indicator of the total buying power of a community, does not reflect the extent of poverty, which has become an established fact of life for a sizable proportion of the urban population. Between 1959 and 1965, there was an increase of more than six percentage points in the proportion of Detroit families with net incomes of less than $2,500, the percentages being 10.5 in 1959 and 17.0 in 1965. In very little better straits are the families whose take-home pay is between $2,500 and $4,000; the proportion of Detroit families in this income bracket shifted from 11.9 percent in 1959 to 11.7 percent in 1965. These figures reflect the total net incomes of families who may have, in fact, more than one wage-earning member.[4]

Changing Characteristics of Public School Population. Reflecting what has happened in the city, Detroit's public schools, between 1961 and 1965, lost 23,748 white pupils and gained 31,108 Negro pupils. For the most part, those who moved out were the children of relatively stable, middle and upper-middle income families of relatively strong educational background. For the most part, those who moved in and many of those who stayed were children from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds.

The impact that urban social and economic changes have had on the public school system was noted by the Detroit school administrative staff in a 1966 report on public school needs addressed to the Board of Education, recommending a doubling of the school budget to equalize educational opportunities for Detroit's children and youth:

> Change in the population of parts of Detroit has created areas where the majority of children have extraordinary needs which the public schools are not equipped to meet. Where once the city population was typically "all kinds," it has now become typically stratified. The majority of upper and middle-income urbanites have moved to newer areas in the suburbs or to the outer rings of the city. The population that remains in the older sections is predominately unskilled or semi-skilled low-income racial and ethnic minorities. When representatives of other strata moved out, the vacuum was filled by Southern Appalachian whites and Southern Negro in-migrants similar in many ways to the low-income minority groups that had remained in the inner city.
>
> Numbers of the city's manufacturing and service industries have followed the upper and middle-income exodus. What remains is the glowing downtown section, a great multi-story civic and merchandizing complex serviced by expressways and surrounded by miles of slums and "transitional" or "grey" areas, still containing a few pockets of more affluent residential areas and high-rent apartment districts.
>
> As continuing renewal and expressway programs reshape the physical dimensions of the city, the movement of racial minorities and low-income families to the next ring of the city and the "flight to the suburbs" continues, although at a decreasing rate. The affluent and moderately affluent white populations which remain turn down or severely limit funding proposals for the schools, both for operating and building expenses. Neighborhoods which support integrated housing and schools are becoming resegregated as citizens are moving to the suburbs.

Financing Detroit Public Schools: A Continuing Crisis. Although the Detroit school administration requested a doubling of the annual school budget to meet the extraordinary needs of growing numbers of the public school population, there was little chance that this extraordinary request would be met from available tax resources. *No public institution has been more deeply affected by the city's economic decline than has the school system.*

As industries, mercantile establishments, and the more affluent resident population have vacated the city, taxable property valuations have dwindled, striking at the very heart of public school support.

The Detroit school system, like other school districts in the state, has access to only one source of local support for school operation and maintenance—the general property tax; and although Michigan boards of education are independent units of government with the authority to levy taxes and issue bonds subject to electoral approval, the shrinkage of Detroit's local tax base and the reluctance of the majority of urban voters to tax themselves for public purposes have made it impossible for the city Board of Education to increase local revenues in response to educational need.

Under the Michigan constitution, the total tax rate in any one year for county government, township government, and the operation of public schools shall not exceed a total of 15 mills without a vote of the people. The county tax allocation board has the responsibility for apportioning the 15 mills of taxing power among these three units of local government. To increase the tax rate beyond the allocated millage, a local board of education must have the approval of the taxpayers of the district.

The limitations on local taxing authority pose problems of increasing severity in the central city of Detroit where the schools' share of the tax dollar is reduced by the massive costs of nonschool governmental services.

The Great Cities Report. The problems of financing public education in the great cities were outlined in a 1964 report of the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement.[5] The report showed that (1) the 14 largest cities in the nation are paying more of the costs of education locally than are other areas of the states in which they are located; (2) these cities have to support a heavier educational expenditure because of the particular educational needs of their heterogenous populations; (3) the cost of land for school sites in these cities is many times that of sites in other districts; (4) public education receives a smaller share of total local property tax revenues in the large urban districts than in other areas of the states; and (5) property tax valuations are declining in the big cities relative to the remainders of the states in which they are located.

Detroit shares all of these problems with the other great cities:

1. In 1963-64, state aid supported 36.9 percent of Detroit's school operating costs. The state share of school support throughout Michigan during that year was 42.9 percent.

2. The City of Detroit in 1962-63 had 16.3 percent of the state's public school enrollment and yet was serving 29.3 percent of the total state enrollment in programs for the handicapped and 96.4 percent of the Michigan students enrolled in vocational, trade, and technical programs. (The average per pupil expenditure among the great cities was $868 for education of the handicapped and $737 for vocational and technical education, compared with a per pupil cost of $408 for elementary, $490 for junior high, and $545 for academic high school programs.)

3. The average cost per acre for school sites for the 14 great cities over a recent five-year period was $68,156. In Detroit, the cost was $64,909. In a sampling of other school districts in the states in which these cities are located, the average cost per acre was $3,074.

4. In Detroit, when the Great Cities Report was published, 57 cents of every property tax dollar went to nonschool governmental services; in other Michigan localities, an average of only 48 cents of the property tax dollar was used for other than educational purposes.

5. Over a recent five-year period, the per pupil taxable assessed valuation declined by 5.7 percent in the city of Detroit; in other areas of the state the per pupil assessed valuation increased by 3.4 percent.

As a result of the shrinking property tax base, the Detroit Public Schools lost a total of more than $29 million in local property tax revenues between 1959-60 and 1965-66. During this same period, every proposal to increase the school tax rate was turned down by Detroit voters; all increases in the support of public education came from the state. Only four of the 43 school districts in Wayne County had a school tax rate lower than Detroit's in 1965-66.

School Operating Deficit and Emergency Relief Measures. More recently —in August 1966—when the Detroit Board of Education predicted a $12 to $15 million school operating deficit for the coming school year and announced that as one of the austerity measures to be enforced, first and seventh grades throughout the city would be put on half-day sessions, Detroit Parent-Teachers Association groups and teacher organization leaders joined school officials in an appeal to the legislature for additional state funds for the city schools.

Emergency funds were granted by the legislature, making an additional $12.5 million available to Detroit Public Schools and aiding school districts throughout the state as well. An increase of $2.50 per pupil was granted to all school districts in Michigan; the state aid allowance to districts bearing a property tax overburden was doubled; and the state's payments for Social Security taxes to the Detroit Retirement Fund for the current year and for 1965-66 were instead paid to the Detroit Board of Education for school operating purposes. The legislative appropriation was made on the assumption that Detroit voters would approve a 5-mill property tax increase in September 1966. The school millage increase was passed, narrowing the school revenue-expenditure gap—but on only a short-range basis.

Projected improvements in the school program, including the provision of free textbooks on a grade-by-grade basis in the high schools and the reduction of pupil-teacher ratios, considerably higher in Detroit than the average for other Michigan districts (29.77 pupils per teacher in Detroit while the statewide average was 25.75 pupils per teacher), will tend to have a cumulative effect on school operational costs; the full impact of these projections will fall in the latter part of the five-year period for which the millage increase was approved. In a report dated October 19, 1966, the Citizens Research Council of Michigan predicted:

> Even with the five-mill increase, projected revenues will not cover projected expenditures over the five-year period. In the fourth year (1970-71) a $1.3 million deficit shows up. Projected expenditures will exceed revenues by $3.4 million by the end of the five-year period.[4]

Findings and Analysis

Impact of Urban Renewal on the Question of Equality of Educational Opportunity

Although the provision of superior public services—including public education—is increasingly recognized as one of the most effective means of attracting the middle- and upper-middle-income groups that urban planners are trying to bring back to the core city, educational planning has not been integrated into Detroit's total redevelopment effort. Urban renewal and school construction programming appear to have taken shape with little reference or relevance to each other. Except in words, civic and educational officials have not shown recognition of the value that vastly improved public educational facilities could have in transforming downtown Detroit from a core of urban deterioration into a center of economic and cultural regrowth.

Wilbur R. Thompson, professor of economics at Wayne State University, has suggested the direction that urban planning must take if such a transformation is ever to be realized:

> Gross mistakes in timing the destruction of slum properties, too strong a bias toward downtown real estate values and urban aesthetics and other sins of the past should not blind us to the potential that is inherent in fresh strategies. We might, for example, experiment with renewing public facilities—social overhead—in our core areas. Better public schools, parks and libraries—not just better than before but better than those existing in suburbia—might induce the families that place the least premium on cultural homogeneity and/or are least afraid of "strangers" to return. If we are to use taxpayers money to subsidize core area renewal, a better case can be made for buying the pioneering of hardier souls by offering superior public services to all core area residents than for subsidizing luxury apartments (via the write-down of land values). Those who are most adverse to living near low-income families should be made aware of the need to provide some cross cultural contacts and at least be willing to support extra rewards in the forms of extra-high-quality public services to those less disinclined than they to take on the serious responsibility of serving as leaders and models.[7]

Thompson's comments suggest a total community approach to urban planning, involving overall coordination of effort and program on the part of civic, social, and educational agencies, in cooperation with the business and industrial groups whose support and creative talents are essential to the effective development of programs that will shape the future of the city.

Urban Renewal: An Unequal Partnership. The record so far, however, indicates that the public-private partnership of urban redevelopment in Detroit has been an unequal one and that the private interests of those groups with the greatest financial investment in the city have been served to the detriment of public purpose. In consequence, as municipal buildings, freeways, and high-rent apartments and townhouses have absorbed large masses of inner-city land, slums have spread; slum-dwellers, displaced, have been forced into housing as miserable as, or more so than, that from which they were dispossessed; absentee landlords have grown rich; the racial and economic stratification of neighborhoods has deepened.

It was in the early days of urban renewal planning in Detroit that the trends were set which have resulted in the hardening of racial and class lines in the city and its public schools. A record of this early planning period is contained in *Profile of a Metropolis,* Mowitz' and Wright's case study analysis of metropolitan redevelopment in the Detroit area. Mowitz reports that following the 1949 election of a conservative mayor ("recruited from private business" to work on the city's fiscal problems during the depression period of the thirties), the emphasis of city planners shifted from public housing on scattered sites throughout the city to private redevelopment of cleared slum sites. Within the new mayor's first year in office, the director and three members of the Housing Commission were replaced by the mayor's appointees and the reconstituted commission recommended elimination of eight vacant scattered sites and two inner-city slum sites that had been slated for public housing. Mowitz comments:

> The deletion of the vacant sites for public housing, all of which were located in outlying areas of the city, meant that low-income families would continue to be concentrated in the city's core area, and the elimination of the projects slated for slum sites meant that public housing would not be used as a vehicle for slum clearance.[8]

During the 1950's, two public housing projects—which had been planned since 1940—were constructed in Detroit under the provisions of the National Housing Act of 1949. Since that time, no public housing has been constructed in the city.

Heavy reliance on subsidized housing would have had depressant effect on the retail sales of downtown merchants; on city tax revenues; and on the profits to be realized by builders, bankers, realtors, and industrialists.

The Gratiot Project. The conflict of public and private interests in urban planning is demonstrated in Mowitz' discussion of Detroit's first redevelopment project, the Gratiot Project, which encompassed 129 acres of the "city's worst slum" and, during the 1950's, displaced 1,950 Negro families, of whom fewer than half were located in permanent public housing. Twenty-four percent of the displaced families had an annual income of less than $2,000; 76 percent earned less than $3,500 a year.

The Gratiot Project was initiated with the expectation of private redevelopment and construction of low-cost housing on the cleared lands. What is clear, says Mowitz,

> . . . is that those with the greatest economic stake in the downtown area's future—the banking, investment, retail business, real estate, and building interests—took an active part along with city officials in developing this strategy for eliminating slums and for stemming the tide of public housing with all of its feared consequences for each of the groups involved in the decision.[9]

From initiation to implementation of the Gratiot Project, major changes took place, and none of them boded well for the slum-dweller. Under the three major housing plans drafted for the Gratiot Project, the emphasis shifted from a project designed "with the low-income family in mind" (for which private developers could not be obtained) to housing designed for middle- and low-income residents (for which private developers could not be retained) to middle- and upper-income housing, which was the shape that the project finally took after the land was purchased and control assumed by a nonprofit Citizens Redevelopment Corporation in 1956. The initial financing of the Citizens Redevelopment Corporation was provided in the main by contributions from major business, industrial, and labor organizations of the Detroit area.

The first residential unit to be constructed on the Gratiot Site was a 22-story apartment building, in which the rentals ranged from $85 to $120 for efficiency apartments and from $190 to $210 for two-bedroom apartments.[10]

Among the constructive results that grew out of the Gratiot Project was the establishment, as one Detroiter put it, of the city's only truly integrated community—*racially* integrated. The desirability of this outcome is not discounted by the observation that housing costs in this racially integrated community exclude the low-income family, regardless of race.

A leading Detroit citizen interviewed by the NEA Special Committee described as "brutal" the city's implementation of the Gratiot Project. Most of the slum housing was acquired by the city from absentee landlords, he said. Efforts made by city officials to relocate the displaced tenants were reported to be desultory and ineffectual. Observers expressed the opinion that most of the slum-dwellers displaced by the Gratiot Project, other than those eligible for public housing, moved to other slums immediately adjacent to the Gratiot site; many would have to go through the redevelopment process again. In this and in subsequent renewal projects, it is reported, the insufficiency of efforts to find suitable housing for displaced slum-dwellers has driven these people farther out from the downtown core and pushed the slums out with them. Public schools in the path of this spreading neighborhood blight have been inadequately prepared to compensate for the deprivations of the slum environment or to establish and sustain any meaningful educational contact with the constantly transient pupil population of the ghettoes. The inequalities built into the society spill over into and threaten to engulf the ghetto schools.

Recent Consequences of Urban Renewal Failures. The displaced slum-dwellers, and spokesmen in their behalf, have become increasingly vocal in protesting the city's relocation procedures. Among the most militant of the groups that represent Detroit's dispossessed poor is the West Central Organization, which, in concert with Detroit clergymen, evoked widespread criticism during the summer of 1966 through its persistent demands that the city provide low-cost housing for families displaced by urban renewal and freeway development. Although public education has been profoundly affected by the failures of urban renewal, school people have remained aloof both from the urban decision makers and from those who protest the decisions.

The living conditions that exist in some of Detroit's absentee-owned, slum apartment buildings are suggested in the following excerpts from news reports appearing in the *Detroit Free Press:*

September 26, 1966

> Several families in a dilapidated Detroit apartment house were without gas and electric services over the week-end as court officials tried unsuccessfully to locate the landlord who turned them out and padlocked the utility rooms.[11]
>
> [Real estate dealer who recently purchased the 54-unit building] ordered all 33 families out of the building. He said he wanted to correct the structure's 200 health and building code violations.
>
> "You are hereby notified that you are required to move immediately upon expiration of your present paid-up rental," the notice read. "If your rent is not paid you must move at once."
>
> Tenants rebelled at the order, saying [landlord's] intent was to break up the tenant council that had been formed with the assistance of the Congress of Racial Equality to force rent and maintenance concessions from the landlord.[11]

September 30, 1966

> Tenants evicted from an apartment house picketed the virtually empty building Thursday.
>
> Twenty-four families, including 30 children, were evicted from the 26 unit building . . . after they went on a rent strike.
>
> They refused to pay their rent, they said, because two children were bitten by rats in the building. They said they were also protesting poor living conditions at the building.[12]

From such tragic injustices as these, vast profits are made by the absentee landlords who are able to purchase their slum properties at minimal prices, easily financed through legitimate lending institutions, and to rent them at rates that are exorbitant, considering the condition of the property and the income levels of the tenants. The landowners—living in the suburbs or outer rings of the city—are effectively removed from the urban blight they have helped to create.

And the process of racial and economic segregation of neighborhoods continues in Detroit, as in large cities throughout the nation. The impact this has had on the effectiveness of public education is suggested in the following excerpt from Thompson's paper, "Toward a Framework for Urban Public Management":

> . . . what was, at small scale, the relatively innocuous practice of clustering homes by size and value becomes, at great size, virtually complete socio-economic segregation, as first grade-school and finally even high-school districts are exhausted by these ever-enlarging homogeneous enclaves. Not only does the slum child attend only slum schools (and the children of the affluent meet only "their kind") but political fragmentation divorces tax base from public service needs and reinforces the cultural disparities within the metropolitan school system with great financial inequalities. The public school is, therefore, rapidly losing its traditional role of redressing the great inequalities in home and neighborhood life that obstruct attainment of the goal of equal opportunity. For perhaps one-tenth of the population of our large metropolitan areas, equal opportunity is a myth and a mockery.[18]

Denial of Equality of Educational Opportunity Through Continuance of De Facto Segregation in the Schools

Detroit's public school officials have played no decisive role, even within their own organizational realm, in offsetting the educationally harmful effects of segregated housing through systematic planning and system-wide implementation of plans to reduce substantially the de facto segregation of the student body.

To the extent that there has been a racial mix in Detroit neighborhoods, it has been reflected in the public schools. Through a limited open enrollment policy and bussing of students to relieve overcrowded conditions in inner-city and transitional area schools, some additional desegregation of classrooms has been achieved. But, for the most part, segregated schools serve segregated communities.

In 1957, the Detroit Board of Education appointed a 300-member Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, chaired by the present governor of the state. Over a two-year period this committee conducted a comprehensive public school study, which culminated in a lengthy report and numerous recommendations for strengthening school program, staff, plant, finance, and school-community relations. A key recommendation was "that steps be taken immediately to provide equal educational opportunities to every child in our community, and that there be continuous appraisal of this program so that inequalities may be promptly rectified."[14]

In January 1960, the Board of Education appointed the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities "to identify the factors which affect equality of educational opportunities in the Detroit Public Schools and to recommend to the Board of Education ways which would increase equality of opportunity for all pupils."[15] The report of this committee, issued in March 1962, contained 187 recommendations relating to curriculum and guidance, organization and administration, personnel, school-community relations, and physical plant. Of these, the Detroit Board of Education approved 140 without change, amended and approved 22, and deferred 25 pending further study. None were disapproved.

The Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, while saying little about methods of school desegregation, did recommend—

> The Board of Education should affirm its responsibility, as a public educational agency, to promote the process of racial desegregation in every feasible way within the Public Schools of Detroit, and the Board of Education should reaffirm its belief in the historic goal of American public education which recognized the blending of our heterogeneous population as a means for achieving equality of educational opportunity as a necessity for national unity and progress.[16]

This recommendation was approved without change by the Board; and a staff commentary, appearing in an abridged edition of the report, indicated a belief on the part of the school administration that this had been and continued to be school policy, objective, and practice.

However, in 1962, when the Citizens Committee report was issued, more than two-thirds of the Detroit Public Schools were racially segregated; since that time there has been little change in the proportion of segregated schools or in the system's policy on student body desegregation.

The "Open Schools" Policy. The school system had in 1962, and continues to have, an "open schools" policy: students may be permitted to transfer to schools outside of their attendance areas if—

> The school which the pupil normally would attend is unable to provide schooling essential to the pupil.

> There are health, behavioral, or psychological reasons verified by the school system's medical, school adjustment, or psychological personnel which would make the transfer desirable for the sake of the welfare of the pupil or of the children in the school from which the pupil is transferred.[17]

A list of open schools—schools that are not filled to capacity—is published prior to the beginning of each semester. The families of students electing, and declared eligible, to transfer are responsible for providing transportation to the receiving school—a provision that effectively limits the number of transfer applications.

In February 1965, the Board stated that there were 29 schools in the system in which all of the Negro pupils enrolled were there because of the open schools policy. The Board did not specify how many Negroes were enrolled in the schools.

In the summer of 1966, the Board of Education revised its pupil transfer policy to permit students to transfer to open schools only when their transfer would contribute to the integration of the receiving school.

As will be shown in school racial counts (pp. 32-36), the "open schools" policy has not effected any significant increase in the racial integration of Detroit schools. Like the "freedom-of-choice" policy in the South, it places the burden of responsibility for desegregation on the pupil and the parent; it offers a choice only to those students who have intrepidity and sophistication enough to make the transfer to a predominantly "white" school and money enough to pay for it.

School District Boundaries. In 1957 the Detroit Public School System was divided into eight administrative districts—the Central district, with more than 90 percent Negro enrollment, was encompassed by the seven other districts. In 1958 the district boundary lines were redefined and nine districts were established, again on the basis of geographical relationship to the city's center. The result of this system of organization was that the extent of racial segregation in each district was highly visible. The districts as they existed in 1961 contained the following proportions of Negro pupils and teachers:

District	Percent Negro Pupils	Percent Negro Teachers
Center	95.0	45.0
Southeast	72.0	45.0
East	68.0	25.0
South	60.0	35.0
Southwest	42.0	19.0
North	36.0	13.0
West	7.0	.56
Northeast	1.0	1.0
Northwest	.5	.5 [18]

In its 1962 recommendations on school desegregation, the Citizens Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities stated that—

> Numerous public schools in Detroit are presently segregated by race. The allegation that purposeful administrative devices have at times been used to perpetuate segregation in some schools is clearly substantiated. It is necessary that the Board and its administration intensify their recent efforts to desegregate the public schools.[19]

The Citizens Committee found that—

> Where the student body is "all" white (as in most schools in the Northwest, the Northeast, and the West Districts), the faculty is also *all white*—with only 5 exceptions. It should be noted that the pattern of placement is to assign Negro teachers to schools *after* the school has become [from being all-white] *predominantly* white or *mixed* and rarely before. Further, the following trend exists: the higher the percentage of Negro pupils, the higher is the percentage of Negro teachers.[20]

It was the recommendation of the Citizens Committee that "to avoid any impression of boundary line gerrymandering,"[21] the Board should implement the recommendation of the earlier Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs, which had urged that—

> A complete analysis be made immediately of all school boundaries within our city for the express purpose of establishing school districts that will be based on major principles: safety of the child; distance involved; efficient use of school plant; and the inclusion of all ethnic, racial, and religious groups residing in each school area.[22]

The Detroit Board of Education claimed that this had already been accomplished.

There were others in the community who felt that it had not. At the time the Citizens Committee report was issued in 1962, a court action had already been filed by an organization of 100 patrons of Sherrill Elementary School, who charged that the Detroit Board of Education was maintaining a racially segregated system by the continuance "in whole or in part" of the following racially discriminatory practices:

> (a) The drawing and redrawing and the gerrymandering of school district lines;
> (b) Discrimination in the recruitment, hiring, advancement, and other employment practices with respect to teachers;
> (c) Permitting deterioration of existing school facilities and failing to provide new and improved facilities in segregated schools;
> (d) The use of a larger number of inexperienced probationary and substitute teachers in segregated schools than in other schools;
> (e) Discrimination in the application of regulations under which students were permitted to transfer to schools outside their residential district, so as to help create or perpetuate a pattern of segregated schools;

> (f) Discrimination in the operation of student apprenticeship and training programs in the public schools; and
>
> (g) Discrimination in the standards of education, including the curriculum as between segregated and non-segregated schools.[23]

Specifically, the gerrymandering charge related to the shifting of district boundary lines in 1958 to exclude the Sherrill Elementary School, in which Negro enrollment had grown to approximately 95 percent of the student body, from the predominantly white West district and to annex this school to the predominantly Negro Southwest district.

The Detroit Board of Education denied all charges of racial discrimination, stating that its exclusion of the Sherrill School from the West Administrative District was entirely the result of the redrawing of district boundary lines to create nine administrative districts out of the former eight districts and was not for the purpose of increasing the number of Negro pupils in the Southwest District or decreasing their number in the West District. The Board declared:

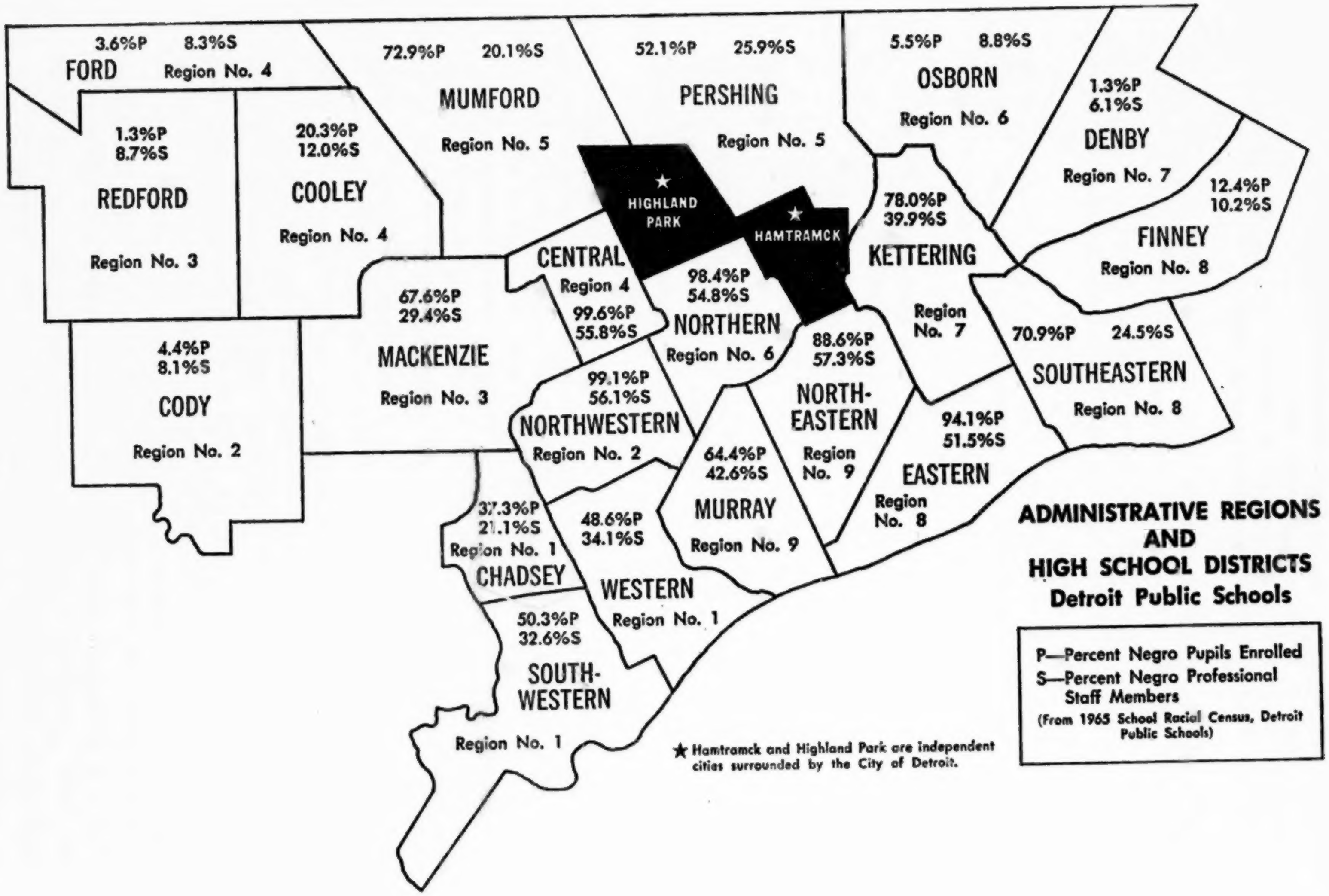
> That at all times relative to the matters at bar, Board has maintained a nonsegregated school system.[24]

The Sherrill School Case, at the time of the NEA study, was still in the courts, numerous documents having been filed over the years. Interim Findings of the Court were issued in September 1964. One of the Court's findings was that:

> The present "Open School" program does not appear to be achieving substantial student integration in the Detroit School System presently or within the foreseeable future. Accordingly, the Board should commit itself to devise and propose other methods of speeding up the racial integration of students. The goal should be the achievements of substantial student integration in all High Schools and Junior High Schools by the beginning of the February 1965 term.[25]

In 1964, as a result of the court action, the Detroit Board of Education again redefined school district boundaries to produce the current pattern of organization, which is shown in the map on the following page. Each administrative unit is composed of two or three discrete high school units under the direction of one field executive. Instead of representing a cross section of the population, however, many of the separate units that comprise one administrative region—particularly those units that are noncontiguous—reflect extremes of racial (and economic) segregation.

In a Status Information Report filed with the court in 1965, the Detroit Board of Education stated that the system's administrative organization had been "revamped to provide a regional organization that includes in each region a cross-section of socio-economic and racial population."


3.6%P 8.3%S
FORD Region No. 4
72.9%P 20.1%S
MUMFORD
Region No. 5
52.1%P 25.9%S
PERSHING
Region No. 5
5.5%P 8.8%S
OSBORN
Region No. 6
1.3%P
6.1%S
DENBY
Region No. 7
12.4%P
10.2%S
FINNEY
Region No. 8
1.3%P
8.7%S
REDFORD
Region No. 3
20.3%P
12.0%S
COOLEY
Region No. 4
HIGHLAND PARK
HAMTRAMCK
78.0%P
39.9%S
KETTERING
Region No. 7
CENTRAL
Region 4
99.6%P
55.8%S
98.4%P
54.8%S
NORTHERN
Region No. 6
67.6%P
29.4%S
MACKENZIE
Region No. 3
4.4%P
8.1%S
CODY
Region No. 2
99.1%P
56.1%S
NORTHWESTERN
Region No. 2
88.6%P
57.3%S
NORTH-EASTERN
Region No. 9
70.9%P 24.5%S
SOUTHEASTERN
Region No. 8
94.1%P
51.5%S
EASTERN
Region No. 8
64.4%P
42.6%S
MURRAY
Region No. 9
37.3%P
21.1%S
Region No. 1
CHADSEY
48.6%P
34.1%S
WESTERN
Region No. 1
50.3%P
32.6%S
SOUTH-WESTERN
Region No. 1

ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS
AND
HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICTS
Detroit Public Schools

P—Percent Negro Pupils Enrolled
S—Percent Negro Professional Staff Members
(From 1965 School Racial Census, Detroit Public Schools)

★ Hamtramck and Highland Park are independent cities surrounded by the City of Detroit.

The Plaintiffs' Objections to the Defendant Board's Status Information Report presented another point of view:

> . . . on close examination it is seen that each of the nine (9) new "regions" is formed by combining (for administrative purposes only) two or more former administrative districts. The combination has as its major purpose the mating of a predominantly Negro district with a predominantly white district, but with no change whatever in where the children will attend school or where the teacher will continue to teach.

The plaintiffs' attorney pointed out the illusory nature of racial census data for each of the new administrative districts. He cited the Board's contention that each of the new regions was "highly integrated," no region having less than 27 percent student integration nor less than 21 percent faculty integration and seven regions having more than 40 percent student integration. He then showed the sharp racial disparities existing in geographically separate units of single regions. These disparities, as they existed in October 1965, are reflected also in the map on page 30.

Counsel for Plaintiffs submitted a redistricting proposal which contained, in substance, the following provisions:

> —That the number of administrative districts be reduced to four, arranged in a generally pie-shaped pattern around the center district, each of the four districts as proposed containing a true economic and ethnic cross-section of the population;
>
> —That the number of administrative districts be changed from time to time . . . "in such manner as will insure a fairly representative proportion of students in each Administrative District."
>
> —That attendance areas within each district be abolished and that students in the same administrative district be permitted to register and attend any school of their choice located within the district on a "first come first served" basis.
>
> —That all specialized education centers be relocated in the central part of the city—including, but not limited to: "reading centers, science and art centers; schools for handicapped children, the co-op program, adult education, job upgrading classes, observation schools, and summer schools. Eligible students residing outside the districts in which such schools are located would be furnished transportation by the Board."

The Plaintiff's counsel stated—

> The effect of this centralization would be to integrate the student body in all such specialized training centers as well as to locate these centers in close proximity to the cultural center of the city. These centers would, indeed, become a part of the cultural center of the city and, being so regarded, would tend to draw pupils on a non-racial basis. If sufficient justification appears, branches of each of the above specialized centers would be set up in other areas, but the main emphasis would be on relocating in the center city.[illegible]

The NEA Special Committee could find no evidence that the concerns expressed in these proposals, or the redistricting methods suggested, have been given consideration by the Detroit school administration; nor could evidence be found that the administration has actively explored any other means of ending or significantly reducing the racial segregation of students—although, as decreed by the Supreme Court in its 1954 decision, racially segregated school facilities are "inherently unequal."

School Racial Counts. A comparison of the Detroit School Racial Census of 1965 with the 1961 data published by the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities shows the following changes in school racial characteristics over the four-year period.

Pupil Membership	*1961 Number of Schools*	*1965 Number of Schools*
† All white	75	8
†† Schools with no Negro enrollment	75	30
* Predominantly white	31	81
** Mixed	89	101
*** Predominantly Negro	70	94
All Negro	8	10
Percentage of Schools That Are Racially Segregated	67	65[27]

† The 1961 data were obtained from the Report of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities. The Committee defined an "all-white" school as one that "has no Negro pupils," but that may have Asiatics or "others" included in its membership.

†† The 1965 data were obtained from the Detroit Board of Education's School Racial Census of December 1965. In this document, the "all-white" classification included those schools enrolling Caucasian pupils only. Thus the "all-white" designation had quite a different meaning in 1965 than the Citizens Committee definition in 1961.

*** Predominantly white—90 percent to 99.9 percent white**

**** Mixed--89.9 percent to 10 percent white and 10 percent to 89.9 percent Negro**

***** Predominantly Negro—90 percent to 99.9 percent Negro**

The pattern and extent of racial segregation did not change appreciably over the four-year period. The number of schools with no Negro pupils enrolled was sharply reduced, but there was an even greater increase in the number of predominantly white schools. There were more racially segregated schools in 1965 than in 1961, and the percentage of schools segregated by race remained virtually the same during the four years.

Since 1961 there has been a gradual increase in the number of Negroes in administrative and supervisory positions in the Detroit Public Schools. The school system employs one Negro field executive; and in the fall of

1966, when the acting superintendent of the Detroit schools was appointed, he was responsible for the appointment of the system's first Negro assistant superintendent, who, in fact, became his replacement, in charge of school relations and special services.

In 1965, the Detroit school system, whose enrollment was 54.8 percent Negro, had the following proportion of Negroes among its administrative and supervisory staff:

- Of 307 counselors, 65 (21 percent) were Negroes.
- Of 352 department heads, 23 (7 percent) were Negroes.
- Of 314 assistant principals, 19 (6 percent) were Negroes.
- Of 257 principals, 13 (5 percent) were Negroes.[28]

Racial Counts of School Sampling. The NEA Special Committee, with the help of DEA officers and staff, developed a list of 63 schools for special study, basing the selection on geographical location in each of the three major urban areas—the inner-city, transitional, and fringe areas. Having been denied entry into the schools by the school administration, the Special Committee asked Detroit teachers to assist in the inquiry by completing questionnaires relating to school plants, facilities, curriculums, professional staffs, specialized professional services, and instructional materials. Of the 52 schools from which responses were received, the breakdown according to urban area and grade level was as follows:

Elementary and junior high schools: 16 inner-city
12 transitional area
10 fringe area

High schools: 4 inner-city
5 transitional area
4 fringe area

1 inner-city special education school for mentally retarded pupils.

Table 3 shows the schools from which responses were received, their enrollments, numbers of instructional personnel and noninstructional staff members, and percentages of Negroes among the student enrollments and professional and nonprofessional staffs (as listed in the 1965 Racial Census of Detroit Public Schools).

It is interesting to note that although racial composition of the student body was not a factor in the selection of schools for further study, the racial segregation of these schools follows a similar pattern to that which prevails throughout the school system. The proportion of racially segregated schools in Detroit in 1965 was 65 percent; of the 51 schools listed in Table 3, 67 percent are racially segregated.

Table 3: Racial Counts of Enrollment, Instructional Personnel, and Noninstructional Personnel

A. Inner City

School	*Enrollment*		*Instructional personnel*		*Noninstructional personnel*			
	Total	*Percent Negro*	*Total*	*Percent Negro*	*Total noninstr. personnel*	*Negro noninstr. personnel*	*Total clerical personnel*	*Negro clerical personnel*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*
Elementary schools								
Campau (K-3A).........	174	94.3	7	42.9	3*	1	1	1
Campbell (K-6A)........	1,213	98.6	41	70.7	13	11	2	1
Breitmeyer............	560	99.8	20	60.0	7*	6	1	0
Duffield...............	1,216	94.6	52	69.2	36	33	8	8
Doty (K-6A)...........	942	97.8	31	35.5	6*	3	1	0
Couzens (K-6A).........	1,000	79.2	36	66.7	21	17	2	0
Howe (K-6A)...........	1,204	96.9	37	35.1	7*	4	2	2
Thirkell (K-6A).........	1,443	99.7	49	57.1	15	14	4	4
Norvell (K-6A).........	450	99.1	15	60.0	4*	3	1	1
McGraw (K-8B).........	1,364	99.3	39	71.8	11	11	3	3
Chrysler (K-8A).........	291	41.2	12	33.3	5	3	1	0
Junior high schools								
Condon................	1,130	92.9	48	37.5	17	11	3	2
Webber................	1,186	99.7	46	54.3	23	17	3	1
Spain..................	960	99.4	46	63.0	59	42	4	2
McMichael.............	1,548	99.7	72	48.6	43	31	4	2
Hutchins...............	1,835	98.2	82	61.0	36	29	6	3
B. Transitional Area **								
Elementary schools								
Newberry (K-6A).......	979	77.1	32	46.9	8	7	1	0
Pasteur (K-7A).........	1,069	76.3	40	20.0	15	12	2	1
Atkinson (K-6A)........	820	97.6	26	7.7	5	1	1	0
Keating (K-7A).........	2,184	82.2	63	20.6	17	9	5	0
Clinton (K-6A).........	1,246	54.0	37	29.7	6	1	1	0
Turner (K-3A)..........	405	95.6	13	38.5	4	2	1	0
McKerrow (K-7A).......	1,327	96.5	43	46.5	10*	6	3	0
Noble (K-9B)...........	2,168	70.1	71	29.6	13*	5	3	1
Junior high schools								
Joy....................	1,474	94.0	64	40.6	28	17	4	1
Foch...................	1,700	79.8	73	52.1	30	12	5	0

Wilson	1,074	5.0	46	23.9	34	10	3	0
Tappan	1,659	96.3	72	47.2	35	20	5	1

C. Fringe Area

Elementary schools								
Pitcher (K-6A)	836	0.6	31	9.7	6*	2	1	0
Warren Bow (K-6A)	1,013	1.3	36	8.3	11	2	2	0
Stellwagen (K-6A)	625	0.6	19	10.5	5*	1	1	0
Carleton (K-6A)	912	0	30	3.3	10	1	1	0
Hampton Jr. High & Elem.	1,309	25.7	51	17.6	15	6	3	0
Cooke Jr. High & Elem.	1,088	0	40	7.5	7*	1	2	0
Burt Jr. High & Elem.	1,197	0	41	9.8	12	3	2	0
Vernor Jr. High & Elem.	1,035	15.6	42	14.3	16	6	3	0
Mettetal Jr. High	626	13.7	30	16.7	14	2	3	0
Ruddiman Jr. High	1,240	6.0	54	7.4	19	1	3	0

D. High Schools

Inner-city								
Northwestern	2,679	99.6	118	46.6	42	24	9	5
Central	2,446	99.7	104	53.8	49	26	8	3
Northern	2,269	98.6	98	38.8	47	29	7	2
Cass Tech	4,190	38.5	197	5.1	90	53	16	3
Transitional area								
Pershing	2,847	47.6	125	10.4	64	17	9	1
Eastern	2,216	65.9	101	35.6	49	22	7	2
Kettering	1,105	73.1	86	24.4	28	14	5	1
Southeastern	2,399	79.4	104	17.3	46	19	8	0
Mumford	2,574	62.4	119	9.2	57	23	9	0
Fringe area								
Ford	2,871	2.6	123	3.3	61	17	8	0
Redford	3,032	0.5	128	5.5	55	8	8	0
Osborn	2,843	3.9	118	5.1	45	8	7	0
Denby	2,599	2.9	110	4.5	49	7	7	0

* Schools in which food service was not provided in October 1965. In the spring semester of 1966, food service was expanded to provide satellite lunch programs to additional schools, including Campbell, Newberry, Noble, Atkinson, McKerrow, and Stellwagen.

** The Farrand Special Education School for mentally retarded students, which contains 84 percent Negro enrollment, was omitted from this tabulation, which therefore includes only the regular day schools of the city.

The racial segregation of student populations in these schools compares with the city-wide pattern as follows:[30]

294 Regular Day Schools in City Student Enrollments			*51 Regular Day Schools in Sample Student Enrollments*		
90%+ White	*Racially Mixed*	*90%+ Negro*	*90%+ White*	*Racially Mixed*	*90%+ Negro*
30.3%	34.4%	35.4%	23.5%	33.3%	43.1%

As noted in the 1962 Report of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, and as is still the case in Detroit schools, "the higher the percentage of Negro pupils, the higher is the percentage of Negro teachers." This pattern does not appear to be broken in the 52-school sampling. Moreover, Table 3 shows further repetition of the pattern in the racial composition of the noninstructional staff. The noninstructional categories are listed in these data as clerical, heating, cleaning, lunchroom, and "miscellaneous" personnel (Public School Racial Census of October 1965).

It is not necessary to go through the entire list of 51 schools to show the trend of noninstructional staff placement. It should be sufficient simply to note that of the 210 noninstructional staff members in the four fringe area high schools, 10.9 percent are Negro, and there are no Negroes among the clerical staffs; of the 244 noninstructional staff members in five transitional area high schools, 38.9 percent are Negro, and five of the 38 clerical staff members are Negroes; and of the 228 employees in this category in the four inner-city high schools, 57.8 percent are Negro, and 13 of the 40 clerical employees are Negroes.[31]

The Coleman Report on Equality of Educational Opportunity, published in 1966 by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, contains the findings of a comprehensive survey of inequity in the quality of education available to the nation's youth. The survey, conducted under the directorship of James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, covered all educational levels of public schools throughout the country. This voluminous work makes several points that seem particularly relevant. An analysis is made of the effect of school characteristics on the achievement of racially different student groups. Among the conclusions reported are the following:

> The average white student's achievement is less affected by the strength or weakness of his school's facilities, curricula, and teachers than is the average minority pupil's . . . .
>
> The conclusion can then be drawn that improving the school of a minority pupil will increase his achievement more than will improving the school of a white child increase his. In short, whites, and to a lesser extent Oriental

> Americans, are less affected one way or the other by the quality of their schools than are minority pupils. This indicates that it is for most disadvantaged children that improvements in school quality will make the most difference in achievement.[32]

The Coleman report points out that the school characteristics that have most influence on student achievement levels are not the physical facilities and curriculums, although variations in these areas make more difference for nonwhite than for white students; instead, the greatest impact on student achievement has to do with the quality of the teachers and the characteristics of the student body. Again, it is the minority student who is most affected by these factors. The report finds that the quality of teachers appears to have a progressively greater influence on pupil achievement at higher grades, indicating a "cumulative impact" of teacher quality as children progress in school.

> Finally, it appears that a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school. This effect is again less for white pupils than for any minority group other than Orientals. Thus, if a white pupil *from a home that is strongly and effectively supportive of education* is put in a school where most pupils do not come from such homes, his achievement will be little different than if he were in a school composed of others like himself. But if a minority pupil *from a home without much educational strength* is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase.*
>
> This general result, taken together with the earlier examination of school difference, has important implications for equality of educational opportunity. For . . . the principal way in which the school environments of Negroes and whites differ is in the composition of their student bodies, and it turns out that the composition of the student bodies has a strong relationship to the achievement of Negro and other minority pupils.[33]

The Coleman Report strongly suggests that the separation of students on the basis of economic class is as inimical to the interests of effective schooling and equality of educational opportunity as is their segregation on the basis of race; of course, in the majority of instances, the segregation of schools is both economic and racial.

Can We Have Equality of Opportunity in Economically Segregated Schools? Havighurst dealt with this question in an article published in 1963 in the Teachers College, Columbia University, Conference Report on *Education in Depressed Areas:*

> The United States Supreme Court by a unanimous decision in 1954 declared that racial segregation in the public schools is contrary to the United States Constitution. It said, "Segregation of children in the public schools solely on

---

* Italics added.

> the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities." The Court went on to say that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." While this statement was made with regard to race, the evidence on which it was made applies with great force to separate educational facilities on any basis where one group is regarded as superior and another group as inferior. Separation on the basis of socioeconomic status is as much a separation of superior from inferior in the United States as is separation on the basis of skin color.[34]

Segregation Through Educational Programming

The racial and economic stratification of Detroit neighborhoods is not only reflected in public school attendance areas; it is reinforced within the schools by traditional methods of "mental ability" testing, by "ability" grouping, and by various screening devices that exclude the have-not student from specialized educational programs and remedial help, of which, having least, he is most in need. Thus, the curriculum itself, as it is administered, becomes an instrument by which inequality of educational opportunity is perpetuated.

> The phrase "class struggle" now appears in black tie and softened aliases as "slum and suburb," "inequalities," problems of the "disadvantaged," of the "culturally deprived," of "integration." However Americanized or blurred the new image may appear, the basic fact seems simple enough: A remarkable "class struggle" now rattles our nation's schools and the scene of sharpest conflict is in the city.[35]

In her book *Education and Income,* published in 1961, educational sociologist Patricia Sexton sets forth the evidences of socioeconomic class inequity in the public schools of a large northern industrial city, which she refers to generically as "Big City." The profile of educational inequity described in *Education and Income* is presented, not as a diatribe against any one city, but as exemplary of a nation-wide urban condition. However, the findings reported in the book were gathered during a comprehensive study of the elementary and secondary schools of Detroit, Michigan.

In support of her thesis that economic class segregation, rather than racial segregation per se, is responsible for the lowered achievement levels of impoverished students, Dr. Sexton's research in Detroit indicated that the children of poor families in predominantly Negro schools achieved at approximately equal levels with students of low-income status in predominantly white schools. In other areas of the country, she said, "It has been found that Negroes perform somewhat better in school than whites with similar incomes." Disproportionate numbers of Negro students are low achievers because disproportionate numbers of Negroes, long victimized by segregation both Northern and Southern style, are among the "have-nots" of society.

The pathology of poverty, as well as the failure of public education to cope with its consequences, is reflected in the following table adapted from the findings reported in *Education and Income:*

TABLE 4[37]

Income Level of Big-City Schools in Relation to Characteristics of Pupils

Average family income (1957)	*Composite Score Iowa Achievement Test—Sixth Grade*	*IQ Rating*	*Pupils sent to detention (per 10,000)*	*Condition of school building (Perfect = 1,000)*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Group I ($3,000–$4,999)	5.23	2.79	31.3	574
Group II ($5,000– 6,999)	5.61	3.31	21.7	578
Group III ($7,000– 8,999)	6.47	4.55	6.9	688
Group IV ($9,000 or over)	7.05	5.09	2.7	779

Average family income (1957)	*Number chosen as "gifted" (per 10,000)*	*Percent of high school students with failure in English*	*Percent of dropouts 1957–58*	*Percent of graduating class requesting transcripts for college*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Group I (Below $6,000)	1	16.8	19.2	23
Group II ($6,000– 6,999)	6	10.9	15.8	34
Group III ($7,000– 7,999)	20	9.3	7.9	46
Group IV ($8,000– 8,999)	36	8.5	7.2	61
Group V ($9,000 or over)	77	6.6	3.6	81

The IQ ratings in Table 4 reflect combined scores of first- and fourth-grade children in the various income groups. The school system assigns a letter mental rating to the range of numerical scores as follows:

2.00—D; 3.00—C—; 4.00—C; 5.00—C+; 6.00—B.

The table indicates that all income groups below $7,000 had scores of less than 4.00—or less than a C rating; all income groups over $7,000 had scores of better than C.

The Detroit school system still administers group intelligence tests in the elementary grades, assigning to each student a letter mental rating based on his numerical score. The IQ label determines a student's eligibility for admission, not only to special ability courses, but also to remedial courses offered on an after-school, voluntary basis in Detroit schools.

The Detroit *Teachers Bulletin* for 1966 states:

> Pupils who are (1) performing a year or more below grade level and (2) *have an intelligence rating of C— or above* are considered likely to profit most from remedial help, and they have been given preference in admission to after-school classes. (Italics added)

Although principals may waive this requirement if they feel that a pupil scoring lower than the C— intelligence rating will benefit from remedial instruction, the NEA Special Committee spoke with several teachers whose pupils had been excluded from the classes on this basis—pupils who, the teachers felt, possessed the intelligence but lacked the necessary verbal, reading, and conceptual skills to achieve the prescribed IQ score.

Patricia Sexton's comments concerning the intelligence score requirement were made with particular reference to its exclusion of poor readers (predominantly from the lowest-income groups) from the instruction for which they had the greatest need—remedial reading. She said:

> The trouble with such exclusive ground rules is that the IQ test, like all written tests, is mainly a test of reading skill. If a child cannot read well he will be very unlikely to do well on IQ tests.
>
> The ground rules, then, work something like this: A child is given a reading test (an IQ test). If he does poorly on this he cannot get remedial aid. If he does relatively well on the test, he is eligible for remedial aid. A strange logic, but one which is all too often applied in the schools.[37]

Evidences of In-School Segregation. The neglect and in-school segregation of students, Dr. Sexton said, could probably be traced to three principal sources:

- The IQ evasion: the tendency of educators to "put the blame for the educational failure of low-income children on their 'low IQ levels.' According to this explanation, the child's inability to perform well in school is not the fault of the school, which may have neglected both him and his educational interests, nor is it the fault of the disturbed or inadequate home situation. The fault is with the child. 'He is not very smart. The IQ tests prove that he isn't, so what can you do? The child simply can't learn more.' "
- "The . . . contempt, or at least indifference, which is often felt by teachers and others for their 'social' inferiors, and the irritation caused by their behavior, manners, and appearance;

- "The fact that upper-income groups have usually been in control of school boards and thereby in control of what goes on in the schools and the methods of distributing rewards. In addition, there is the fact that very little pressure is applied to the schools by lower-income individuals or groups representing them, while upper-income groups tend to have great influence in the schools and to be active in school affairs."[38]

Patricia Sexton's research, supported by more recently gathered information, reflects a built-in bias within the school system favoring the student of middle- and upper-income status in terms of curriculums and attitudes.

Four general courses of study are offered to Detroit high school students: business, technical and vocational, college preparatory, and general education. Patricia Sexton reported in 1961 that more than half of the lowest-income group of Detroit high school students were enrolled in the "free-floating" general education high school curriculum, that only 15 percent of this lowest-income group were enrolled in the college preparatory course, and that about one-third were enrolled in business or vocational courses of study.[39] She commented:

> Through the use of separate curriculums and other devices, including segregated groupings of various sorts, the schools establish a class system which is more rigid in its way than the class system in the outside world, since all students have curriculum and "ability" labels which segregate them from other students in a clearly defined rank order. In this school social system, the college preparatory curriculum is the upper class, the vocational curriculum the middle, and the general curriculum the lowest class. Within this class structure, there is apparently little movement either up or down. Once assigned to a curriculum and status level in the high school, students seldom change to other curriculums and class categories.[40]

Some examples of the screening devices that exclude the disadvantaged youth from specialized high school programs in Detroit Public Schools follow:

- Cass Technical High School, enrolling students from all parts of the city, offers students a choice of 26 curriculums in six general areas of study: (1) Pre-engineering; (2) fine arts, including arts and crafts, commercial art, costume illustration, graphic arts, music, and performing arts; (3) home economics; (4) science; (5) business; and (6) science and arts.

  To qualify for admission to Cass, a student must have a mark of C or better in the California Test of Mental Maturity, be at grade level in the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, and rank at the fiftieth percentile or above in the Detroit Differential Aptitude Tests.[41] Eligibility for the

Science and Arts Program, offered at Cass and three other Detroit high schools, "is limited to individuals who have, in addition to their principal's recommendations, exceptionally high scholastic aptitude as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity or by the Differential Aptitude Tests and/or exceptionally high achievement as measured by the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills." [42]

- To qualify for admission to the Aero-Mechanics High School, which draws its students from the suburbs as well as all sections of the city, the student must satisfactorily complete the Aero-Mechanics Entrance Test and have completed the ninth grade with a C average.[43]
- Cooperative education programs offer the senior high school student who is enrolled in a distributive education or other vocationally oriented course of study the opportunity to split his school day into classroom and out-of-school work experiences. To qualify for participation in this program, the student must have earned at least a C average to date, have shown a good record of attendance and punctuality, have had at least one major school occupational training area, and have "successfully passed the cooperating employer's tests and interview requirements." [44]

For the children whose elementary school experiences have been unproductive, the prospect of qualifying for these programs is nil.

Evidence of the numbers of children who are thus excluded from programs that will prepare them adequately for the world of work is to be found in student achievement test results.

Charts I, II, and III compare 1964 Iowa Achievement Test Mean score ranges of fourth-, sixth-, and eighth-grade students in three groups of Detroit Public Schools, arrayed by percentage of Negro enrollment:

Group I: Schools containing 76-100 percent Negro enrollment
Group II: Schools containing 36-75 percent Negro enrollment
Group III: Schools containing 0-35 percent Negro enrollment.

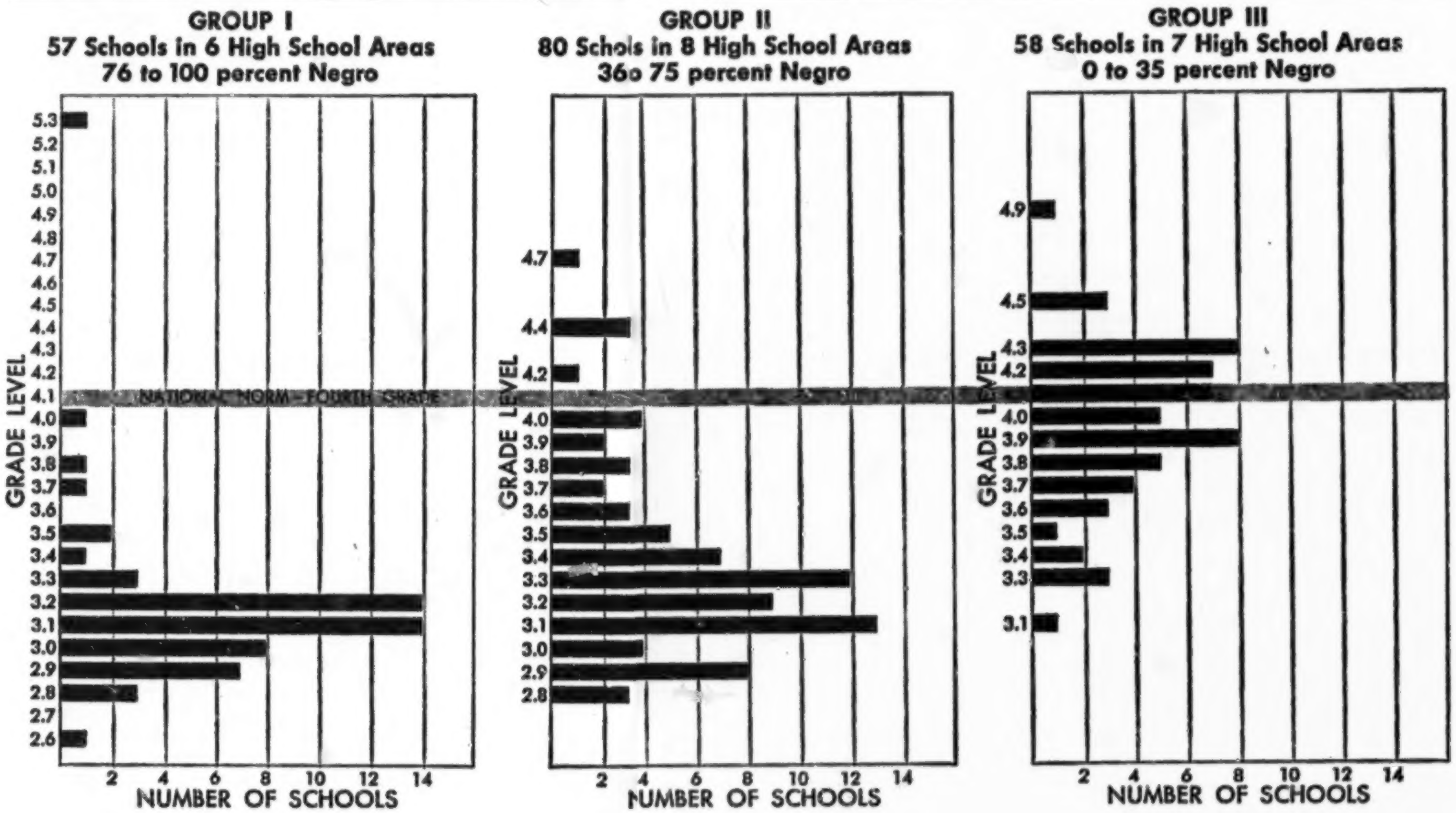
The charts reveal that the children of predominantly Negro schools achieve at a lower level and a progressively slower rate than pupils in the predominantly white, middle-class schools.

- The median fourth-grade score of the predominantly Negro schools (Group I) is 3.1—approximately one grade behind the national median. In the eighth grade the median score for this group of schools has lagged to 6.1—two full years behind the national median.
- Group III schools, containing from 0 to 35 percent Negro enrollment, show gradual progress in achievement levels, with a median of 4.0, one

CHART I: School Means a Iowa Test of Basic Skills – Fourth Grade

Administered Oober 1964, Detroit Public Schools

F-7A



GROUP I
57 Schools in 6 High School Areas
76 to 100 percent Negro

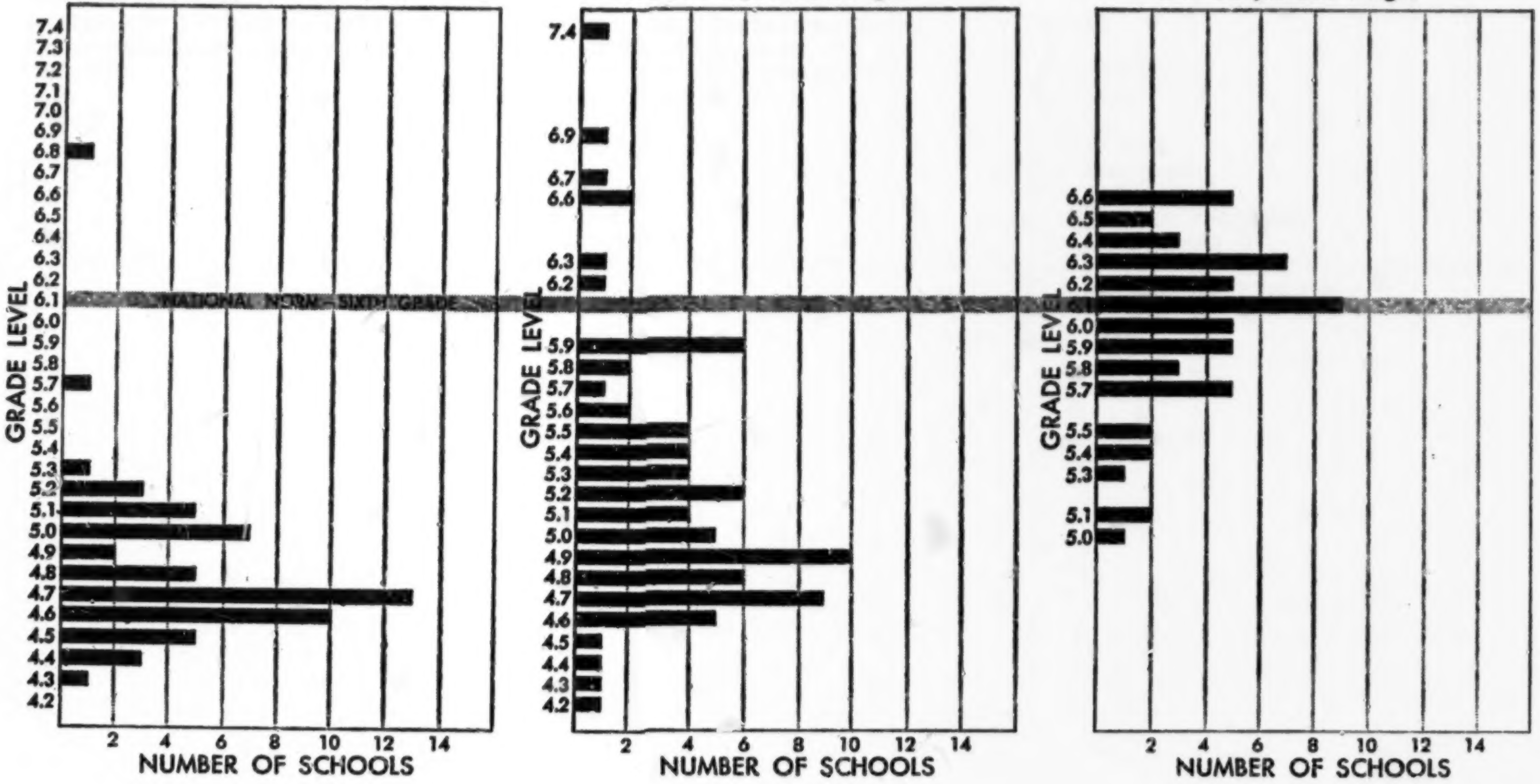
GROUP II
80 Schols in 8 High School Areas
36o 75 percent Negro

GROUP III
58 Schools in 7 High School Areas
0 to 35 percent Negro

CHART II: School Means on Iowa Test of Basic Skills—Sixth Grade

Administered October 1964, Detroit Public Schools

F-7B



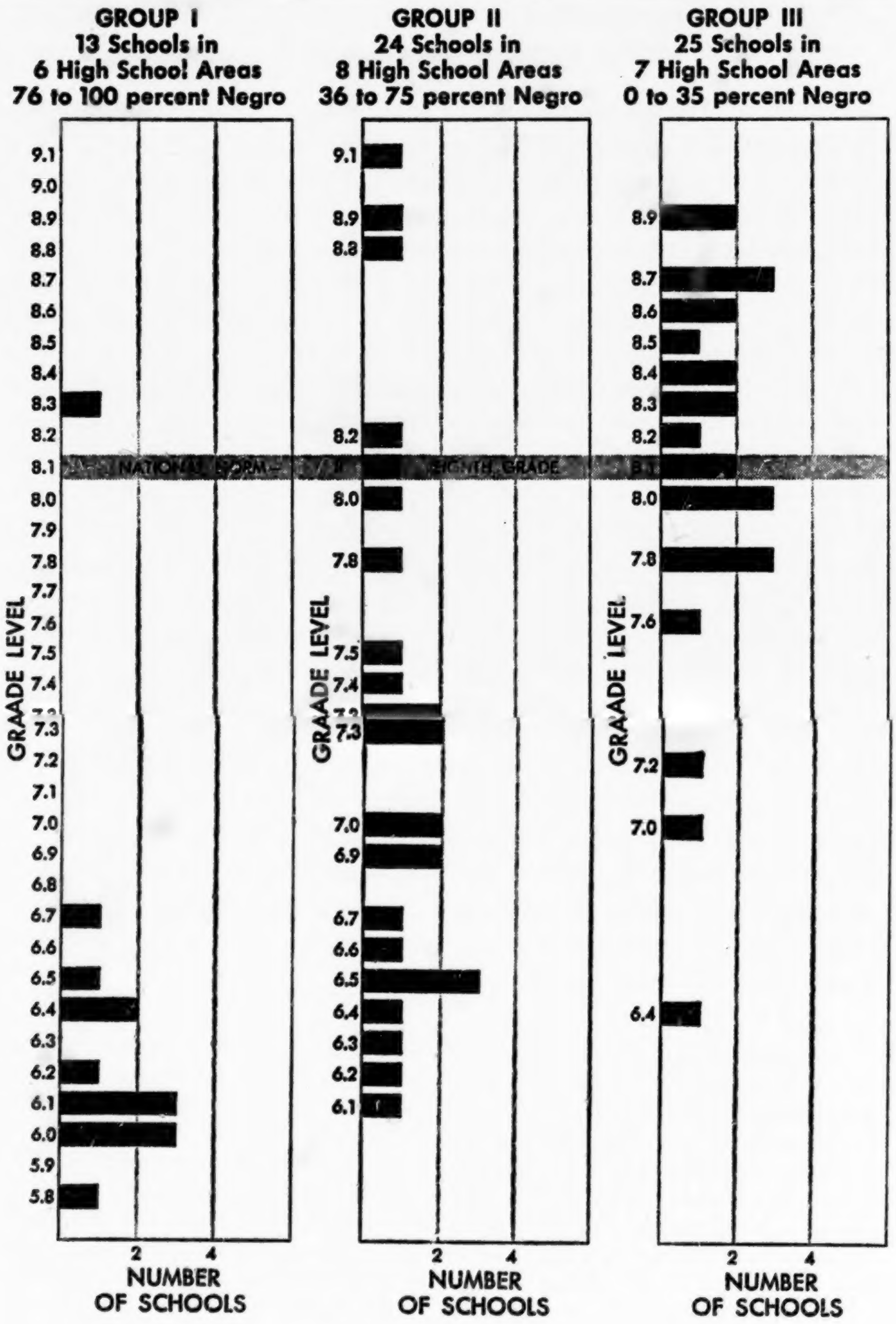
GROUP I
57 Schools in 6 High School Areas
76 to 100 percent Negro

GROUP II
79 Schools in 8 High School Areas
36 to 75 percent Negro

GROUP III
57 Schools in 7 High School Areas
0 to 35 percent Negro

CHART III: School Means on Iowa Test of Basic Skills — Eighth Grade

Administered October 1964, Detroit Public Schools



GROUP I
13 Schools in
6 High School Areas
76 to 100 percent Negro

GROUP II
24 Schools in
8 High School Areas
36 to 75 percent Negro

GROUP III
25 Schools in
7 High School Areas
0 to 35 percent Negro

point below the national median in the fourth grade, moving upward to 1 point above the national median, 8.2, in the eighth grade.

- The Group II schools—racially desegregated—score at 3.3, slightly closer to the national median than Group I schools, in the fourth grade; they show less regression over the four-year period, with an eighth-grade median of 7.0, slightly more than one grade behind the national median.

After School: The Consequences of Inequality. Another kind of relationship between education and income confronts the youth who, upon graduation or dropout from a lower-class school (which usually means also a predominantly Negro school), finds that with an inadequate education his chances for earning an adequate income are dim indeed. Without the financial means to go to college even if his public school record qualified him for college, he has no opportunity to recoup the educational deficit of public school years.

In 1963 two Detroit citizens, a federal court judge and the dean of the Wayne State University law school, enlisted the aid of a group of citizens, including several Wayne State University faculty members, in conducting a study that would give some indication of the percentage of Detroit Negro high school graduates attending colleges or universities. They surveyed the upper 20 percent of graduating classes of six predominantly Negro, inner-city high schools. In one of the schools, in the highest-income neighborhood surveyed, they found that of the 92 youngsters reported in the upper 20 percent of the 1963 graduating class, 18 were in college and 12 were either in the armed services or employed in civilian occupations. Most of the male graduates in college were enrolled on athletic scholarships. The same pattern was generally followed by all other students surveyed; *approximately one-third of the upper 20 percent of all six graduating classes were enrolled in college or otherwise gainfully employed; the other two-thirds were neither in school nor at work.* The implications of this study about the activities—or inactivity—of the remaining 80 percent of these six graduating classes is not encouraging.*

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* It is encouraging, however, to learn what the judge and his associates have done about this problem. By raising funds privately they established the Higher Education Opportunities Committee, which each year since 1963 has sent an increasing number of low-income Negro high school graduates to college. In the current year, the committee is paying the college expenses of 315 students. Most of the grants for the program have come from individuals. The judge reports that a few modest contributions have been made by Detroit business or industrial corporations. The Committee received a federal grant of $30,000 in 1966-67 to enlarge its staff. The Committee chose, however, to invest much of the grant in the students themselves. The staff was enlarged to three, but with the remainder of the funds, the college students were

Income, Education, and Unemployment in Detroit Neighborhoods, 1963. Neither is it encouraging to Negro youth to realize that even if they do remain in high school through graduation, and even if they do go on to college, their employment and earnings prospects will still be markedly inferior to those of their white counterparts. Income and employment comparisons on the basis of race and level of educational attainment show that this is clearly the case: that nationally, the Negro college graduate earns in his lifetime no more than a white man whose education ended at the eighth grade.[45]

In 1963, a study of income, education, and unemployment in Detroit neighborhoods was conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with the President's Committee on Youth Unemployment. The survey team found that nonwhites comprised 69 and 68 percent of the city population ranking lowest in income and highest in unemployment respectively, but comprised less than 50 percent of the population ranking lowest in educational attainment.[46]

These figures suggest that educational attainment is a considerably more potent force for income advancement and employment among the white population than it is among the nonwhites.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics report provided further data to support this conclusion. The study group found that in 1960, the City of Detroit contained 188 census tracts in which there was a nonwhite population of 400 or more. In 126 of these tracts (67 percent), the educational attainment of the nonwhite population equalled or exceeded that of the whites. Income and unemployment data were available for 112 of these tracts, as follows:

- In only 29 of the 112 census tracts (in which Negroes equalled or exceeded whites in grade level of educational attainment) did the Negro population equal or exceed the white population in median family income.
- In only 23 of the tracts did the Negro population have the same or a lower unemployment rate than the white population.[47]

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employed as junior counselors to go back to their high schools on a part-time basis to meet with students and speak at school assemblies and workshops, to assist in raising the aspirations and expectations of the high school students.

The judge commented that the "amazing thing about the program has been its success ratio." The freshman dropout rate of these students is markedly lower, he stated, than that of the overall freshman class population in the colleges and universities attended by the students. The students selected for Committee assistance are chosen, not on the basis of grades received, but upon the advice of teachers and principals and the personal observation and counseling of Higher Education Committee members and staff.

Whether it is because the quality of education offered in the predominantly Negro schools is unequal to that in the predominantly white schools or because of racial discrimination in employment and promotion of Negro workers (and probably both factors are relevant), the fact remains that even with an equal or superior *grade level* of educational attainment, the Negro is still last to be hired and promoted and first to be fired. The impact of this condition on the Negro citizenry at times of economic crisis in the city has been severe. The unemployment rate for the entire city in 1960 was 10.1 percent, reflecting the shattered state of the Detroit economy as a result of the automotive production slump, which had hit the Detroit area in 1958. In Negro neighborhoods, unemployment rates were as high as 41.4 percent during 1960.

Those who speak critically of a "lack of motivation" on the part of disadvantaged Negro students need look no further than these statistics to see at least one understandable reason for it.

Administration of the Apprentice Training Program: A Further Barrier to Equality of Educational Opportunity. For the out-of-school youth who may have nowhere to go but down, Detroit's apprentice training schools offer an opportunity for learning a skilled or technical trade. The school system provides the buildings and apprentice trainees for the manufacturing and construction trades apprentice training schools; the two schools are operated by the union or craft organization.

In order to be accepted for apprentice training, an applicant must be a high school graduate or have established equivalency by examination, and he must have obtained a job with an employer who will enter into an apprenticeship agreement with the school system and the union.

In 1962, the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities found that—

> The operation of the apprentice program is obviously discriminatory. Since the applicant for admission to the program must first have a job in the field in which he wishes to secure apprentice training, and since minority group members are not admitted by employers and trade union members to many of these jobs, there are few, if any, members of the minority groups in the program.[40]

The Citizens Committee urged the Board to inform all participating employers and trade unions that it would no longer condone racially discriminatory practices in selection of apprentice trainees and that if such practices continued, it would close its apprentice training program; and to notify the federal government, which helps to finance the programs, of this position. The Committee also recommended that the Board take immediate steps, through counseling and the necessary school program, to ensure that all students would be well prepared to qualify for admission and take advantage of the apprentice training program.

The matter of racial discrimination in the apprentice program was at issue in the Sherrill School Case and has been taken up by various citizens groups, including the Education Committee of the Congress of Racial Equality, the TAP Policy Advisory Committee, and the Citizens Council on Inner City Schools, and by the teachers themselves.

The Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Equal Educational Opportunity is one of the organizations that has directed a continuing effort toward ending racial discrimination in the apprentice training program and toward finding solutions to the broad spectrum of school problems that afflict, with particular severity, the low-income, segregated Negro school. This organization was established in 1965 by a group of 70 citizens who came together as individuals from many diverse groups in the community—churches, labor organizations, civic groups, and civil rights groups—because, they said, they were "concerned with the lack of substantial progress on the part of the Detroit Board of Education in correcting the problems clearly defined in the 1962 report of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity."

In communications to the Detroit Board of Education, the Ad Hoc Committee has made recommendations urging the Board to hire qualified compliance officers to prevent racial discrimination in selection of apprentice trainees; to actively seek compliance with its nondiscrimination policy by awarding contracts for building contingent upon compliance and by withdrawal from programs in which discrimination is found to exist; and to institute a continuing preapprenticeship training program by designating counselors in a number of inner-city schools to give special attention to selecting, counseling, and pretesting students for entrance into apprenticeship training programs.

For its part, the Board of Education has moved in the direction of following the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee and other groups; but, according to testimony—and racial counts of the apprentice training programs—not far enough. Racial census forms are sent to contractors along with their bid solicitations, but how much weight this matter is given in the awarding of bid contracts is not clear; the Board has declared as policy its decision not to participate in programs in which racially discriminatory practices are alleged or exist and, where there is evidence of such practices on the part of the participating union or employer, to refer the matter to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission for investigation before the class is started.

At the time of the NEA investigation, however, the testimony of teachers and lay citizens reflected great dissatisfaction with the Board's progress in ending discrimination in the apprentice training programs and in its development of counseling services and relevant course offerings for Negro high school youth to interest them in these programs and qualify them for admission.

The most recent information that the NEA Special Committee could obtain in this connection was a comparison of racial counts for the two apprentice schools over the two-year period from 1964 to 1966. These data show that there is ample justification for the dissatisfaction.

In 1964, the Construction Trades Apprentice School enrolled 1,821 Caucasians and 34 Negroes. By 1966, the number of Caucasian students enrolled had grown to 2,474—an increase of 653; the number of Negro students was 41—an increase of 7.

The Manufacturing Trades School in 1964 enrolled 977 white students and 73 nonwhites. In 1966, the white enrollment numbered 1,267—an increase of 290; the nonwhite enrollment was 118—an increase of 45.

Pressures for Change. Detroit's Negro community has begun to exert increasing pressure on the schools. Teachers commented to the NEA Special Committee that, for the first time, parent groups are willing to "go down to the Board of Education and demand the things we need in the schools." In fact, teachers in some schools, the Committee was told, have encouraged the establishment of parental pressure groups to help effect improvements that they and their building principals are unable to obtain from the central administration and board. But without economic strength, the pressure is not reinforced by power, except by the power of public exposure of inequalities and by the strength implicit in the coalition of the forces of parents' organizations, civil rights groups, and other concerned organizations in the city.

Public Relations Image vs. Reality

In the final analysis, public opinion will play a significant part in determining the effectiveness of the Detroit Public Schools in providing more nearly equal educational opportunities for their widely diverse pupil populations. The necessary climate of public opinion can be created only to the extent that the citizens of Detroit feel that their schools are, in fact, open to them; only to the extent that there is a mutual attitude of good faith between the public school system and the communities it serves. Unfortunately, this is not the attitude that prevails throughout Detroit.

Particularly in the inner-city and transitional area communities, the Detroit school administration appears to suffer from a credibility gap between its promises and the progress it has made toward equalization of educational opportunities, between the apparent interest it has evinced in consulting with citizens' groups on educational issues and the disinclination it has shown to implement their recommendations.

Through a seeming lack of straightforwardness with school patrons, other concerned citizens, public agencies, community groups, and even its own employees, the educational establishment has come to be regarded by many as a closed society whose self-protective stance is maintained at the expense of the children and youth it serves.

The accumulated grievances of the city's Negro population, as they concern the question of equality of educational opportunity, were the primary subject of Special Committee discussion with Detroit Public School patrons. This was not surprising since, with the exception of school patrons who were also educators or in some other way professionally concerned with public education, virtually the only parents who attended open meetings or sought interviews with the Committee were Negro parents. Many of these people were speaking for themselves as well as for their neighbors when they described the plight of the economically disadvantaged Negro doing battle with an educational and societal status quo which a parent described as "tragic for our children" and "going to have tragic results tomorrow, five years from now, ten years from now, and fifty years from now."

The fact that parental interest in the Special Committee's study, with the exceptions cited above, was mainly confined to Negro groups was a circumstance singular among investigations of the NEA PR&R Commission and contrary to the accepted notion that the low-income minority groups are less articulate and less publicly concerned than the more affluent members of either race. It was noted by the NEA Special Committee as one of many recent indications that increasing numbers of disadvantaged Negroes are no longer willing to be represented by a few "accepted" Negro leaders whose negotiations with public officials have long been conducted according to the occasional-concessions policy of a white power elite.

Between the NEA Special Committee's first and second visits to Detroit, the equilibrium of the city and its public schools was badly shaken by two events—the failure of a proposal to increase school millage and the student boycott of a predominantly Negro inner-city high school (pp. 73-84). The students, protesting what they described as unequal educational opportunities, returned to school only after they had won what some observers identified as sizable concessions from the school administration and Board. This school crisis, the effect it may have had on the school millage election, and the threat it had posed to the racial peace of the city were major topics of discussion during the NEA Subcommittee's second visit to Detroit in May 1966. Summarized here are statements made by Detroit citizens to the Subcommittee that reflect their impressions concerning the troubled school-community relationships at the time of this visit.

The cause of the student boycott, said one observer, "is the difference between aspiration levels and achievement possibilities." He commented that millions of dollars had been spent creating a good image of Detroit nationally—the image of a city that had solved its race problem—but he maintained that only superficial solutions had been effected.

There is no meaningful relationship, this individual reported, between the educational establishment and the parents of inner-city Detroit. "Parents are called to a meeting," he said, "and the educators get up and lecture. There is no feedback. The parents are given all sorts of false signals. There are internalized institutional techniques to keep the parents from knowing the truth about their schools."

Some of these techniques became apparent to the NEA Special Committee during its investigation of de facto segregation in Detroit schools:

- The insistence, in response to the Sherrill School parents' Complaint, that "at all times relative to the matters at bar, Board has maintained a nonsegregated school system," when, in fact, more than two-thirds of the Detroit Public Schools are racially segregated.
- The claim that the administrative regions, as formed in 1964, were "highly integrated," no region having less than 27 percent student integration and seven regions having more than 40 percent student integration, when, in fact, each of the administrative regions is divided into two or more separate high school districts, in some of which there are extremes of racial segregation; e.g., Region 2 contains the Cody High School District, whose enrollment is 4.4 percent and professional staff is 8.1 percent Negro, and Northwestern High School District, whose enrollment is 99.1 percent and professional staff is 56.1 percent Negro.)*

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* In submitting the administrative region plan to the court in 1964, the attorney for Defendant Board of Education made several comments indicative of what the

- The change in definition of *all-white school* to mean schools enrolling only Caucasian students in comparing 1965 school racial counts with racial census data of 1961, which defined the *all-white school* as one that has no Negroes but that may have Asiatics or others in its membership. (By this device, the school system was able to advertise that it had only 8 schools with all-white enrollment, when, in fact, it had 30 schools with no Negro enrollment.)

School Millage Failures. Many persons interviewed by the NEA Special Committee felt that the loss of school millage referendums in recent years has been due largely to the failure of school officials to communicate the needs of public education to the people and to make good their assurance of progress toward desegregation and equalization of educational opportunity.

Citizens of Detroit, including some members of the city's legislative delegation, told the NEA Subcommittee * that consistently throughout the year—except when a school money bill is coming up in the legislature or when a school millage campaign is being run—the school system's public relations program is dedicated to creating the image of an exemplary educational program. In the middle- and upper-income areas of the city, residents have little reason to question this image. In these neighborhoods, citizens have consistently voted down proposals to increase the school tax rate—partially because these people have no grave cause for concern about their schools and partially, several persons commented, "because they think their money is going to inner-city schools, to the people who can't support themselves, who are public liabilities anyway." Said one person, "The School Board concentrates on the inner city of Detroit for a Yes vote on millage. It is very dependent on the people who have had the least benefit of educational advantage."

Consistently in the past, the inner-city areas have carried the day for school millage and bond issue referendums. But in recent years this trend has begun to change.

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administration and Board hoped to accomplish by the new system of organization. Among these were the following:

> As administrative districts are now constituted (prior to reorganization), comparisons between them highlight and accentuate differences in racial composition, pupil achievement, economic status and the like in the different parts of the city. These comparisons are more frequently being used in a negative than a positive way.
>
> There is a substantial and strong feeling among many persons that administrative districts somehow are related to where a child attends school, and what are his opportunities as to curricula, chances to attend college, counseling, etc. Regardless of what is said by school authorities, the image is there and persists.

* The members of the Committee who returned to Detroit from May 10 to 15, 1966, to continue the on-site investigation.

A city official said, "We have become aware of growing opposition in the Negro community to school millage elections. The opposition is based on their fears, their suspicion, and their belief that only by cutting the lifeline of local school support could they force attention to inner-city needs."

The School System: Open or Closed Society? Issues of *Detroit Schools,* the school system's official publication, contain extensive news of workshops and meetings involving school staff and lay citizens in study of intergroup relations projects and inner-city school improvement projects. The impression given by these reports is one of continuing, meaningful dialogue between school and community.

But according to testimony from teachers, school patrons, clergymen, legislators, social workers, and others who have worked, or attempted to work, with the Detroit school system, this impression is misleading.

People spoke of an overcentralization of authority at the top administrative echelons of the school system, of an apparent willingness to consult with educators and lay citizens about school and community needs countered by a marked disinclination to heed their advice or to accept their proffered assistance, and of a failure to meet with teacher and community groups on a mutually forthright basis.

Legislators said:

- On my last visit to Detroit schools, we had a 9:30 A.M. meeting with school officials. They proceeded to waste the entire day. We visited a school, talked with some of the most brilliant children. Our visit was made because there were stabbings in schools. The official school attitude, "Here you are; help yourself, but don't learn anything". . . . How long can the school system fail to answer the public's questions? Why do you have to be someone of political importance before school officials will even talk with you?
- I have been critical of Detroit Public Schools' communication with the legislature. The school officials should go out and make themselves known to their legislators at other times than in the school system's hour of financial need. . . . For the next superintendent, I want a man who is experienced in practical politics.
- I think education is the key to the whole plight of the inner-city child. The housing agencies are battling big real estate; I think we can get improved education before we can get housing patterns changed. But the school system is just turning deaf ears on the pleas of the children. School officials are so busy defending their position that they cannot hear what is going on.

Parents said:

- The superintendent does not meet with Negro and white parents together. He meets the different groups separately . . . but we are all parents! . . . Two or three weeks ago, he met with our school committee. He stated that the middle-class people had moved out of the neighborhood; what he meant was that the middle-class white people had moved out.
- There is a lack of any constructive dialogue between parents within the inner city and the Board and administration. . . . Parent-teacher conferences in some schools are not private; other parents are in the room. . . . Parents feel they are not welcome in the schools.

A civic official said:

- Four years ago we found 25 percent of the schools of Detroit without Negro teachers. We found only one administrative situation where the racial barrier had been crossed. Four years later, in every school situation, there is at least one Negro teacher and in only seven schools is there only one. It took us four years to get the matter before the School Board and then have the Board mandate another approach to teacher placement, which has, in fact, begun to produce a desegregating pattern. I am reporting to you on a problem that has been "solved," except that it has *not* been solved. Groups in the community still do not see sufficient evidence of attitudinal change.

Educators not employed by the Detroit Public School system said:

- Detroit teachers have had difficulty in engaging help from any agency outside the city school structure. . . . The successful principal in the Detroit system is the principal who succeeds in keeping the troubles away from the central office.
- The education system has really not communicated to people in the community what are the educational needs of the city. The big thing people talk about is crime. They raise policemen's salaries. It becomes more attractive to be a policeman. No one looks upon crime as a symptom of the failure of education.

From officials at the U.S. Office of Education in Washington, D.C., the NEA Subcommittee learned of a Desegregation Advisory Project that has been established through federal funding by the Wayne County Intermediate School District. The title of the project is descriptive of its purpose—to provide advisory services and assistance in problems relating to racial desegregation of the schools in the county's 43 independent school districts. Among the services offered are in-service training programs for school officials, selected classroom teachers, and limited numbers of community leaders. The NEA Special Committee was informed by the U.S. Office of Education officials that there has been limited participation in this project on the part of the Detroit city school administration.

During 1965-66, the only Project services accepted by the Detroit system were in connection with a "shared learning experiences" program involving students and faculty from all-white suburban schools and from Detroit's all-Negro schools. The County Desegregation Project was permitted to work with Detroit staff members and students only when suburban school systems were involved.

Such testimony as this, together with the comments of Detroit citizens, conveyed the clear impression that the public relations image which the Detroit School System has established has been maintained at the cost of its actual relationship with citizens who are daily aware that the image is far from the realities of public education in the ghetto.

Fact-Finding Efforts of NEA Special Committee. During the course of this investigation, the NEA Special Committee further found evidence that the barriers to understanding of ghetto conditions and to informed evaluation of efforts to deal with these conditions are not confined to the public school operation.

The NEA Special Committee had direct experience with the information-gathering problems that reportedly are a familiar difficulty to organizations and citizens groups involved in social welfare and civil rights activities in Detroit. Staff assistants of the Committee tried repeatedly to obtain current information on unemployment rates by age group, race, and neighorhood for the central city of Detroit. Telephone and letter inquiries were made of the Michigan Employment Security Commission and other Detroit organizations, and additional leads were sought through federal and state contacts. However, the Committee found a total absence of specific information in this area.

An Urban League employee said that his organization has made continuing efforts to get detailed unemployment statistics for the central city from the Michigan Employment Security Commission and from state sources—without success. The chairman of a Total Action against Poverty citizens advisory committee reported that his organization, also, has been unable to penetrate the veil of confidentiality that the authorities have lowered over this area. He said that members of the citizens advisory committees were conducting neighborhood surveys to make their own determination of the extent of unemployment in impoverished areas.

The Detroit Social Data Bank. As the NEA study proceeded, it became apparent that a laudable effort on the part of the City of Detroit to develop an instrument for review and evaluation of social action programs may be greatly hindered in its effectiveness by the information barriers that have been put in its way.

The City of Detroit is currently engaged in a Community Renewal Program which involves study of the planning and impact of urban renewal on the city. In order to carry out the Program, it has been necessary to develop information sources concerning the social and physical conditions of the impoverished inner-city areas of Detroit. For this purpose, and also to provide information that will assist in analysis of the city's Total Action against Poverty (TAP) Program, the Mayor's Committee on Community Renewal (the city controller, the director-secretary of the Housing Commission, the director of city planning, and the community development coordinator) has established a Social Data Bank to serve as a repository for a continuing informational input by the city's health, social service, educational, and correctional agencies. The areas of Social Data Bank coverage include all of the inner city and some adjoining transitional area neighborhoods selected as TAP social action target areas.

Because this entire operation seems to be extremely relevant to the question of equality of educational opportunity in the Detroit Public Schools, the NEA Special Committee quotes the following facts about poverty in Detroit, as revealed by the Social Data Bank for a nine-month period in 1965 and shown in Table 5.[50]

Several glaring information gaps appear in this data collection. The table shows alarming rates of adult and juvenile delinquency, school dropout and truancy, and venereal disease and tuberculosis; but very little information is provided to tell the story of the social problems that would be unmistakeably related to any deficiency in the city's services to its racial and economic ghettoes—services which are necessary components of the complex of conditions which must obtain if equality of educational opportunity is to be provided. The social ills outlined are of the kind that is often attributed—by those who are at a safe remove from the ghetto—to the "innate character" of the poor rather than to the innate character of the society that has created the problems of poverty, one of the most serious of which is gross inequality of educational opportunity.

In an explanatory report, the consultant firm employed by the Community Renewal Committee to assist in the design and implementation of the Detroit Social Data Bank presented a listing of the public agencies that have not contributed to the Data Bank and the reasons for their nonparticipation. The report states that for the time period covered in the 1965 report, a computer program had not been set up to obtain the appro-

TABLE 5
Social Data Bank Entries, 1965

1965 population estimates	*Four TAPS action areas as percent of city total*	*City total (Number)*
Families	23.8	504,339
Persons 20 and over	23.5	1,050,315
Children under five	26.4	133,875
Children 5 to 19	25.7	431,265
Total population	24.3	1,615,455
Welfare data		
City welfare openings	60.5	3,531
Food stamp openings	57.3	5,842
Welfare registration inquiries	53.3	32,153
Visiting nurses requests	44.2	7,249
ADC openings	59.0	3,680
Legal aid requests	62.7	5,086
Health data		
Venereal disease	59.2	4,660
Tuberculosis	41.1	1,142
Housing and health complaints to sanitation engineers	48.1	7,541
Births	27.6	15,625
Deaths	30.0	14,355
Stillbirths	34.2	442
Police data		
Offenses	38.9	94,523
Arrests	48.9	58,382
Juvenile cases	44.3	8,790
Women's division	41.2	6,288
School data		
Truancy reports	43.3	10,330
School dropouts	49.4	2,939

priate summary data on incomes. The reasons given for the exclusion of many of the other agencies are, in some ways, more illuminating and more discouraging than the data appearing in the table.

Some of these nonparticipating agencies and the listed "reasons" are—

Agency	*Data*	*Reason for Exclusion*
Adult Psychiatric Clinic, State of Michigan	Mental illness cases	Volume too small to warrant electronic data processing; approximately fifteen cases per month
Outpatient Psychiatric Clinic, Receiving Hospital	Mental illness cases	Volume too small to warrant electronic data processing; approximately fifteen cases per month
United Community Services	Annual reports on services rendered by participating agencies	Not a primary source of information; normally handles summary data originating from other sources
Mayor's Rehabilitation Committee on Skid Row Problems	Alcoholic cases	Volume too small to warrant electronic data processing; approximately ten cases per month
Detroit Civil Service	Civil Service applicants	Data directly affected by number of available positions rather than by unemployment, therefore not a meaningful social statistic
Michigan Employment Security Commission	Unemployment Assistance applications	Data on applications for unemployment assistance considered confidential and were not made available
Parks and Recreation	Attendance figures	Attendance data processed as late as three months after receipt; no data available on where users of facilities reside
Detroit Housing Commission	Number of dependents, rent, etc.	Available data pertain only to specific housing projects now in operation, and as such, have only narrow significance
Buildings and Safety Engineering	Building inspection reports	Data related almost exclusively to commercial rather than residential structures
Fire Department	Fires answered by department	Data primarily physical in nature; cause of fires not readily available.[51]

Some of the listed reasons are shocking; it is difficult to conceive of a total psychiatric clinic case load of 15 per month and an alcoholism case load of 10 per month as reflective of the mental illness and alcoholism problems of a city of more than 1.6 million residents.

Some of the reasons are all but meaningless. One would expect fire reports to be primarily physical in nature; one would also expect that in a city the size of Detroit, the fire prevention program would include a fairly streamlined and efficient program of detecting the causes of fires. It is surprising to note, the problems of slum housing being as serious as they are in Detroit, that the building inspection reports of the Buildings and Safety Engineering Department do not include a great deal of data relating to residential, as well as to commercial structures. The report of the Parks and Recreation Department that it has no information on where the users of its facilities reside does not engender faith in this department's ability to evaluate the effectiveness of its recreational facilities and to plan intelligently for needed expansions and improvements of such facilities. One would think that the United Community Services, although not a primary source of information, would be in a particularly advantageous position to provide an overall picture of social needs and services, filling in some of the areas perhaps not covered by the informational output of the other agencies. It would seem clear that information on unemployment from the Michigan Employment Security Commission and on employment opportunities from the Civil Service Commission would be of great help to the educational and social agencies concerned with bridging the gap between skills and jobs. One wonders what kinds of data about the occupants of housing projects would be deemed by the Detroit Housing Commission to have other than "narrow significance." One also wonders whether there are not kinds of meaningful social data that the schools could provide other than truancy and dropout rates.

The question arises, in fact, whether the Detroit Social Data Bank is to be used as a means of ending the tragic deprivation of the ghettoes or only of exposing the delinquencies and failures of those condemned to ghetto living.

The Greenleigh Report. The "social profile" that the Social Data Bank might have provided had information sources been made available would have included for all poverty-impacted areas of the city the kinds of facts that were revealed in a home interview study of 2,081 low-income households in Detroit, which was conducted by Greenleigh Associates for the City of Detroit from June 1964 to January 1965. The findings of this study were not widely circulated in the city. Among the conditions of living that existed for these 2,081 families, and that were depicted in the Greenleigh Report, were the following:

- The median annual income for households in the study was $2,640 and the per capita income was $912, compared to a median family income in Michigan of $6,256 (1959) and a state per capita income of $2,416 (1962).

- Negro households comprised 67.8 percent of all households in the study and were poorer than white families. The monthly per capita income for the Negroes was $68; that for the whites, $88.
- The poorest households were more frequently headed by a person with one or more of the following characteristics: female, nonwhite, lacking more than a sixth-grade education, head of a single-parent household, over 60 years of age. The poorest households more frequently had employment, health, family, school, and housing problems.
- Most of the families had been in Detroit for many years, 91.2 percent for more than 10 years. However, the poorest families were highly mobile within the city: 20.9 percent of those with incomes of less than $3,000 a year had lived in their present dwellings less than a year.
- Among the 2,081 heads of households, 51 percent were employed; 20 percent were unemployed but potentially employable; and 29 percent were not in the labor force because they were too old or disabled or were needed at home and therefore could not work. Of the 1,063 who were employed, 111 were employed only part-time.

The Greenleigh Report stated:

> Employment problems did not exist in a vacuum. Many of the same households in which there was unemployment were also those in which there were untreated physical health and mental health problems, in which children were having school and behavior problems, in which parent and child relationships were a problem, and in which housing was frequently so bad that it was a threat to health and safety. These were hardly conditions that enhance the employment potential of adult members of these households at present, or in terms of their children for the future.
>
> . . . .
>
> Among the families with children 12 to 17 years old, 11.2 percent had one or more high school dropouts. Almost one half, 42.6 percent, of the families that did have teen-agers in school indicated that they were having problems in school, primarily learning difficulties such as reading problems, as well as general adjustment problems. In 30.8 percent of the families with 6- to 11-year-old children, similar school learning and adjustment difficulties were identified.
>
> In families with preschool children, almost one out of every three needed some form of day care because of the need for the mother to work or because of social problems in the home. In many cases needing day care these were one-parent households and often these children had been born out of wedlock.
>
> In sharp contrast to the widespread school and behavior problems among so many children, the great majority of low-income parents had positive attitudes towards and aspirations for their children. . . . nearly all parents wanted their children to finish high school. Many parents, 40 percent, had specific or general goals for their children.

The Greenleigh Associates interview teams found that the insufficiency and fragmentation of public services to the families studied were major factors in their general debilitation:

> Three out of every four households reported that they had contact with some public or voluntary health, welfare, social or recreation agency in Detroit during the year prior to the study interview. However, these contacts were primarily with only three types of agencies: the hospitals and clinics, the public welfare departments and school remedial, health and social services. There was relatively little contact between the poor and other Detroit agencies.
>
> . . . partialization of services, the lack of comprehensive approach, the lack of a family-centered approach, the failure to provide follow-up service, all tend to create a gap between the needs of those in poverty and the existing service structure.

The conclusion of the Greenleigh Report was "that the three major service systems—health, education, and welfare—which now have the bulk of contact with the poor, could become the key instruments in a more effective attack on poverty if they can adapt to the requirements of the situation by providing more comprehensive and more accessible services."

It would appear, however, that these three major service systems will not be fully effective and that the battle for equality of opportunity in education, or in any other area of urban life, will not be won until there is a willingness on the part of both school and civic officials to share an informed understanding of ghetto conditions and to evaluate objectively their own organizational strengths and weaknesses in the service of all city-dwellers.

Conditions of Teaching and Learning in Detroit Schools: The Teachers Report

As long as the racial and economic segregation of slums and slum schools exist, it is unrealistic to suppose that merely equalizing school services and facilities will result in equality of educational opportunity for Detroit children and youth. No matter how "equal" the educational offering may be, it is an opportunity only to those students who are capable of utilizing it; and all the conditions of the ghetto are arrayed against the efforts of public schools to reach and relate to children so that they may learn. Federal funds have made possible the implementation of various compensatory educational programs in Detroit's slum schools; but neither in dollar expenditure nor in professional commitment has the Detroit school system been able to make the greater compensatory effort necessary to reduce the educational deficits of the ghetto. Vital to this effort is the recruitment of classroom teachers, principals, and professional specialists who are qualified through training, experience, and attitude to meet the challenge of the inner-city school. It is in this area that the educational shortage is most severe in all grades of all schools. It is particularly severe in the lower grades of low-income area schools, where the race between education and alienation begins and too often ends, the decision going by default to alienation; the classroom in subsequent school years, regardless of how it may be equipped with the tools of teaching and learning, too frequently serves as only a waiting place for dropouts or a holding operation for apathetic or disruptive stay-ins.

In January 1966, the Detroit Public School administration reported that the system then employed 11,500 professionals (teachers, supervisors, and administrators) serving the 295,000 students in regular school programs. This represented a ratio of 39 professionals per 1,000 children and an average class size of 32. The administration recommended enlarging the professional staff gradually over a 10-year period to a total of 17,700, which would provide a ratio of 60 professionals per 1,000 children—a ratio, the administration noted, more closely comparable with that of suburban schools "with admittedly high quality of education."[58] The refusal of Detroit voters to approve the proposed millage increase in May 1965 not only precluded any expansion of the Detroit public school staff, but threatened to cause a sharp curtailment of existing staff and services.

Instructional Staff Shortage. Not only is there an admitted need for staff expansion in Detroit schools, but high teacher turnover rates and low ability to attract and retain qualified professional personnel have resulted in a continuing failure to fill established positions. The following summary indicates the extent of the staff shortage in the Detroit schools:

1. The Detroit school system opened in September 1965 with a shortage of 400 classroom teachers. In September 1966, the announced shortage was 500.
2. The shortage of classroom teachers has forced the school administration to draw on its list of substitute teachers to serve in regular

positions and on prolonged classroom assignments. In March 1965, there were 497 emergency substitutes in regular positions (ESRP's) in the Detroit Public Schools. Among this group, 226 had no degree, 4 were graduates of nonaccredited institutions, 224 held the B.A., and 23 the M.A.[54] Although the NEA Special Committee was unable to obtain information from the school administration on the placement of ESRP's in different regions of the city, testimony indicated that there has been a disproportionately large placement of these teachers, and of beginning teachers, in the low-income area schools, where both teacher and pupil turnover rates are high and the problems of teaching and learning are continuous and severe.

3. The substitute shortage has been intensified by extensive use of ESRP's and by the reluctance of substitutes to accept assignments in Detroit's "difficult" schools. This has become an increasingly critical problem, as is shown by the following monthly comparisons between 1964 and 1965:

Number of unfilled substitute calls:

September 1964	564
September 1965	1,302
October 1964	712
October 1965	2,520
November 1964	15
November 1965	680

To compensate for the lack of substitutes, teachers are required to divide the classes of absent colleagues into two or three sections and take them into their own classrooms; libraries, in the words of one librarian, "are used to dump children into when there are no substitutes available" and sometimes the school librarian is used as a substitute himself; building administrators are required to substitute for five school days each year; counselors and special teachers are called on for substitute work; and in a number of inner-city and transitional area schools reporting, upper elementary students are assigned as teacher substitutes. Responses to the NEA questionnaire indicated that the substitute shortage is of overwhelmingly greater severity in the transitional area and some inner-city schools, but that the overcrowding of classrooms is a citywide condition. This is not to discount testimony that high class sizes are a far more critical problem in the central and surrounding areas of the city. Anyone who has had the dual experience of teaching 35 or 40 or 45 children of relatively homogeneous middle-class backgrounds and the same number of children in a school in an economically depressed, culturally alienated neighborhood would have no difficulty in deciding where the problem of overcrowding was greater.

Specialized Professional Personnel and Supervisory Services. Intensifying the problems of teachers and students in overcrowded classrooms is the insufficiency of specialized professional staff to provide counseling, guidance, remedial, health, and psychological services for the children and youth in the Detroit Public Schools; and the shortage is felt most deeply in the schools of disadvantaged neighborhoods, where environmental factors militate against equality of educational opportunity.

Counselors are not employed in Detroit elementary schools, nor are consultative guidance services provided except in some schools that have been selected for special federally or state-funded projects.

In the 1965-66 school year, the average student load for a junior high school counselor was approximately 435; senior high schools provided one counselor for every 310 students. A major part of the counseling load, however, is composed of the demands of disciplinary responsibilities and the administrative burden of extensive record keeping and report making. The comment of one counselor in an inner-city school is expressive of the problem. He said, "A counselor in the Detroit system is primarily a disciplinarian. He is burdened with absences, tardiness, locker passes—anything that happens. The problem is not with the pupil-counselor ratio, but with the number of noncounseling duties forced on the counselor."

School nurses are not employed by the Detroit system. Public health nurses are assigned for scheduled visitations to schools. Responses to the NEA questionnaire indicate that the frequency of the nurses' visits to different schools varies from "one-half day once a month" to "two days a week"; there are numerous, differing schedules in between. The Special Committee was not able to detect a rationale for the variance in scheduling since, at least from the questionnaire responses, no distinguishable patterns emerged with respect to nursing assignments at differing grade levels or in different urban areas. What did clearly emerge, however, was the impression that the existing health service is of hardly more than token value and that such tokenism more seriously affects the low-income area schools, where physical health disorders, along with the mental and emotional impairments of poverty, are severe.

Visiting teachers are employed at all grade levels, serving the general function of school social workers, to help children who have such problems as "(1) personality difficulties evident in withdrawn and unhappy behavior; (2) obvious behavior difficulties; overly aggressive traits; (3) failure to succeed in school commensurate with potential ability; (4) suspected adverse home conditions; (5) potential school dropouts; (6) cases involving school fears or school resistance." During 1964-65, 68 full-time visiting teachers were employed to provide all these services to the

294,000 students enrolled in the Detroit Public Schools. One visiting teacher served approximately 4,300 students.

The psychological clinic, which employed a full-time staff of 30 in 1965-66, supervises psychological testing and diagnosis and prescribes treatment of disturbed children, directing their placement in special education classes.

In Patricia Sexton's study of the Detroit schools, she reported, "Unfortunately, this department refused to release any information about its operations, even when reminded that the taxpaying public is entitled to know what is being done. The reason given for their refusal: fear that such information might be used to criticize the conduct of the department's affairs."

The Detroit school system's psychological clinic has greatly enlarged its staff since 1961, but, according to the testimony of Detroit school employees, its affairs are as mysteriously conducted as ever. By withholding information about its operations, however, the clinic has not succeeded in avoiding criticism. Teachers, who admittedly were not familiar with clinic procedures or with the rationale for its selection of students to be tested and treated, were overwhelmingly critical of the psychological services it provides.

Before a disturbed child can receive psychological assistance, he must receive diagnostic testing. But before this happens, the teacher must fill in a form (5027) to be submitted through the visiting teacher to a central office committee, which advises on disposition of the case without ever seeing the child. If the committee decides that psychological testing is in order, the teacher must fill out a second form (658) to be submitted to the psychological clinic. The child may then be placed on the waiting list for psychological testing. The waiting period may last for several weeks, several months, or several years. And while he waits, he "sits in" the regular classroom. Testing, if it finally takes place, may or may not precede preventative or remedial action. Frequently, teachers say, it serves only as a brief interruption to the waiting period.

The child may be placed in an ungraded special education class for mentally retarded or socially maladjusted pupils or in one of the "emotionally disturbed" classes (established in 1965-66 with space for 90 pupils); or he may be provided with visiting teacher service while remaining in a regular classroom. But it is not often, teachers say, that any of these forms of treatment are provided promptly. Since visiting teachers are scarce and special classes insufficient in number, the child who has been tested is usually returned to the regular classroom to serve more time as a "sit-in."

COMMENTS

. . . of teachers in transitional area and inner-city schools

■ Several teachers have completed a form 658 for the same child. One boy has been sitting in awaiting placement since 1961. In 1964 I was told he was number one on the list and he is still waiting.

■ Only severe cases are taken; borderline cases are ignored. . . . In the inner city, where problems are concentrated, there is a great need for *more* of everything.

■ Never enough children can be tested or can be seen by nurse or psychologist or visiting teacher. The visiting teacher especially has a hard job because she has no time for follow-up. Many see a youngster with serious problems once or twice a semester. Many children still sit and wait.

■ In my class I have at least five children who need intensive psychiatric help. There is no help for them.

■ One way to get testing immediately is for a child to commit a crime and be brought to court. Many children are socially promoted for years. One child pulls a fire alarm and is given immediate psychological attention.

. . . of teachers in fringe area schools

■ More supportive staff time is needed. In most instances psychological services are available only after a long waiting period.

■ [After reporting that the school has no "sit-ins" awaiting placement in special classes after testing]. We are allotted only two psychological tests for straight "E" pupils each year. So few are tested that this is no problem.

Attendance officers, according to NEA questionnaire responses, are provided in significantly greater measure to disadvantaged area schools. Their assignment in greater numbers to truancy- and dropout-ridden schools in downtown and surrounding urban areas reflects one instance of the costs of educational and societal failure.

All of the inner-city teachers responding to the NEA questionnaire reported that attendance officers were available to their schools on either a regularly scheduled or a full-time basis. Most of those responding from transitional area schools reported that attendance officers were available. But in both inner-city and transitional areas, there were several reports that attendance services were insufficient. Few of the fringe area teachers answered this question; although some stated that supportive services were inadequate, none stipulated a need for additional attendance services. Several stated that there was no need for attendance officers in their schools.

Remedial instruction, aside from the remedial work that each classroom teacher is called upon to do, is offered to pupils on a voluntary after-school basis in some Detroit schools. Additional funds have been provided for remedial instruction, along with other enrichment and compensatory programs, in schools that have been chosen for various federally and state-funded special educational projects.

The mental rating requirement (C— for remedial reading; C for mathematics), which excludes some of those who need it most from remedial instruction, has been discussed in an earlier section. Perhaps this requirement accounts for the questionnaire response to the question concerning the adequacy of remedial instruction, which indicated that remedial reading and speech classes are conducted in a smaller proportion of the inner-city than of either the transitional or fringe area schools included in the questionnaire survey. The answers are not consistent, however, for all of the specified subjects. A greater percentage of inner-city schools were reported as offering remedial instruction in math and science. Classes for academically talented students were reported most frequently by teachers in fringe area schools. In both transitional area and inner-city schools without courses for the academically talented, teachers expressed need for inclusion of these courses in the curriculum.

COMMENTS

. . . of transitional area junior high school teachers

■ Our children are as far as two grade levels behind in reading. We badly need remedial reading and arithmetic classes other than those provided after school by Project I.

■ Our program seems to be based on a city-wide average; i.e., all junior highs will use the same tests and the same curriculum guides—even though the reading level and immediate needs of the students are widely diverse. We have had textbooks far and above our students' reading and comprehension levels (this is an assumption)—all because the textbooks are decided city-wide.

. . . of a transitional area elementary teacher

■ We need full-time remedial programs and full-time services of all listed [remedial and specialized professional supportive services]. On a survey last fall we found better than 50 percent of fourth, fifth, and sixth graders had letter ratings of D, E, or F. Classes are too large to give needed individual instruction.

. . . of an inner-city high school teacher

■ For this school, the whole staff would be needed for remedial assignments. . . . Remedial work in the fundamentals should be a regular part of the school day. . . . No department or classes should be used as a dumping ground for students who can't or won't perform in the regular classes.

Special Improvement Projects for Detroit Schools. Numerous special projects have been initiated in an effort to compensate for the environmental inadequacies that surround the inner-city schools and blight the lives of impoverished pupils. Federal funding and to a lesser extent state moneys have provided the bulk of support for these projects. A major compensatory effort was initiated with Detroit Board of Education funds and, from 1960 to 1964, was supported by Ford Foundation grants. In 1957 Detroit, together with the 13 other largest school systems in the nation, undertook a program of cooperative research into the problems of finance and educational planning for Great Cities schools. In 1959, Detroit initiated a demonstration project involving program enrichment and improved school-community relations in three inner-city schools. The Great Cities Program has been extended to 27 schools and has included staff workshops and in-service training in human relations and curricular planning to better serve the disadvantaged child; experimental programs involving curricular materials and methods, remedial programs, and specialized services geared to the needs of underprivileged children; and the employment of school-community agents to provide liaison between the Great Cities schools and their neighborhoods. Federal funds have recently supplied financing for the Great Cities Program.

Other state or federally supported special projects in Detroit schools are the extended-day school program, which in 1965-66 provided after-school remedial education, adult education, library services, and other adult and pupil activities in 51 elementary and junior high schools; in-school youth work-training programs; preschool child and parent education; special reading programs; the three-school integration project, a program designed to sustain voluntary integration and deter resegregation in three transitional high school areas; a satellite lunch project for disadvantaged area schools; and the school volunteer service, which draws on adults in low-income neighborhoods to provide tutoring and other forms of assistance to teachers and students.

These are only a few of the specially funded projects that have been undertaken, but they do give some indication of the variety of resources that has been made available to Detroit schools for attacking the problems of educational and economic deprivation in order to provide more nearly equal educational opportunities. What does not appear from the bare recital of special projects is the conviction expressed by many school employees and parents that these projects are not, in fact, doing the job that must be done to compensate for past educational neglect and current social and economic disadvantage.

Reports were received that some of the specially funded projects have been implemented in such a manner that they are not achieving the specific, limited purpose for which they were designed.

One such report concerned the state-funded "shared experience" program involving teachers and students in one predominantly Negro and one predominantly white school. The Special Committee was told of a trip to Lansing, one of the "team projects" in this program, which was, in fact, not a team project at all. There was no advance briefing or meeting of teachers or discussion with students to prepare them for making this a racially integrating experience. The bus picked up the group of students and teachers at each school. They traveled on the same bus, and they visited the same state buildings, but throughout the trip the two groups remained separate. There was no follow-up to the simultaneous, but unshared, experience.

Concerns Expressed by Teachers Involved in Special Projects. In most instances, teachers expressed what appeared to be sincere, valid, and fair concerns about the methods by which various innovations have been introduced, about inefficient and educationally harmful practices that have been continued, and about basic educational needs that have been neglected in favor of impressive educational accessories. They spoke of a need for better orientation to the use of new materials and methods and for more thorough evaluation of project development and results in order to realize more fully the potential worth of experimental programming. Some of the problems reported by teachers in schools that have been selected for specially funded projects are quoted below.

COMMENTS

. . . an elementary teacher in a Project I pilot school*

■ The things we really need (reduced class size, teacher aides, lesson preparation time, curriculum development projects, evaluation of school programs) seem to be neglected in favor of unevaluated programs, such as the use of community agents, special abilities classes, and after-school remedial classes taught by personnel otherwise not associated with the school.

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* A state-financed program providing additional instructional and supportive services and materials as a means of sustaining voluntary racial integration in three transitional area high school constellations.

■ Our problem is that we are dealing with some fairly tough children, many with very low self-image development. Many programs have been developed and are being used that will help in work with these children. We also have some highly motivated children with fairly solid cultural backgrounds. These must all be fitted into one "Detroit Schools Program." Our staff needs time to learn about, to explore, and to institute these special programs. This means released time from regular programs, which is simply not available to elementary teachers.

. . . an elementary teacher in a Great Cities School in which 22 federally funded projects are being conducted

■ Workshops are offered but are limited in number. Teachers would like to have time to sit down and do some planning together. The only time that we have available for this is after school and for half of our Institute Day.

■ Many children who need speech correction can't get it because of lack of staff. All of the specialized professional services are inadequate because they are not available to the school for enough time.

■ The substitute shortage is serious. The assistant principal has taken a classroom. Our reading coordinator also has taken a classroom. Classes have been split among four or five other teachers, thus increasing class loads. At other times our coordinating periods have been taken so that classes would be covered. This year I have lost six coordinating periods so that classes could be covered.

■ Textbooks are distributed one per seat per room. In our 4-6 grades, at least two classes use each home room and 14 sections use each special subject area. . . . I lack literature books, and I don't even have a basic fourth-grade text in my room.

. . . a junior high school teacher in a Project I pilot school

■ Our children are as far as two grade levels behind in reading. We badly need remedial reading and remedial arithmetic classes other than those provided after school by Project I. We have many behavior problems that should be in a special class for emotionally disturbed. One boy in grade 3A was suspended three weeks ago because he cannot work in a regular classroom. . . . With a school nurse coming a half day a week it is impossible to follow through on all visual, hearing, and other physical needs. . . . We need a full-time visiting teacher. All rooms have waiting lists of children badly needing help.

Orientation. Orientation of the beginning teacher, in-service training—particularly with regard to the use and evaluation of innovative materials and programs, and teacher supervision and guidance were cited as major necessities for increasing the effectiveness of schools in the central and surrounding urban areas of Detroit. Since provision of these vital elements of instruction is largely at the discretion of each building principal, their extensiveness and quality vary widely from school to school. Like the school counselor, teachers said, the principal in a Detroit school is burdened with an excessive amount of paper work and administrative detail which severely limits the fulfillment of his primary function—the supervision of instruction. But, in some instances, the teachers seemed to feel that the record-keeping, report-making aspects of administration offered "a way out" for the principals—an acceptable reason for disappearing into their offices and escaping the rigors of the disciplinary problems and other difficulties for which resolution, guidance, and support are sought by the classroom teacher.

Teacher Rotation Policy. The teacher rotation policy, a target of much criticism from those who met with the NEA Special Committee, is set forth in the Administrative Handbook of the Detroit Public Schools as follows:

> A beginning probationary teacher will be placed in a position in which it is believed he has a chance to have adequate supervision and other favorable conditions for his initial teaching experience. He will remain in that position for three years, and then be transferred to a position in which an experienced teacher with his preparation is needed, and in a location which will give him a different kind of experience as to community background of pupils.

This policy was originally developed so that the young teachers could have an opportunity to work in a variety of situations, the first three years being spent in the most favorable environment. As the demands for desegregation of school faculties have risen, the policy has been used as a means of meeting the demands, the NEA Special Committee was informed. Many people feel that it is failing in both purposes; that new teachers are being placed disproportionately often in the more "difficult" schools of inner-city and transitional areas; many fail in such assignments and those who do succeed, some of them admirably, are moved to another school at the end of three years, whether they want to transfer or not and whether there is a qualified replacement for them or not. Moreover, instances were reported in which the automatic transfer of third-year teachers, whether in low, middle, or upper income schools, was not to another kind of school environment but only to another school in a neighborhood of like socioeconomic status. Some teachers in inner-city and transitional areas reported that their schools had gained valuable teachers as a result of the rotation policy, but most seemed to be convinced that the policy was achieving little other than an increased teacher turnover rate.

Pupil Promotion Policies. Pupil promotion policies are a matter of apparent confusion among Detroit school personnel and an issue of marked concern among school patrons and pupils. As in many school systems today, a central issue is whether, when children fail continuously to achieve at grade level—and in low-income area schools many of them do—it is better to retain these children repeatedly, perhaps increasing their sense of failure, or to promote them socially up the academic ladder despite the probability that at each grade level their chances for learning will be further diminished by the educational opportunities missed (perhaps never effectively offered) during the earlier grades.

Many teachers admitted that they did not know the way out of this dilemma. Some stated that their principals insisted upon a promotional "quota system," prohibiting the teachers from failing more than a certain percentage of students. They expressed particular need for guidance in this area.

School Principals. The strength, perception, and ingenuity of the principals of the schools appeared to have a decisive effect in terms of the extent and value of the relationship of the school to its community and of its services to the youngsters of the area it served. Some principals appeared to be developing very valuable programs even under unusually difficult conditions, while others were described as unadapted and unadaptable to meeting the problems of children of the inner city. Teachers questioned the central administration's procedures for selection of principals and particularly challenged the placement of older "conservative" individuals in the multiproblem low-income areas, where an authoritative, inflexible attitude tends only to intensify the problems.

The Northern High School Boycott

The Northern High School boycott, and the conditions that prompted it, gave evidence of many of the problems that have been discussed in this report. It would not seem unreasonable to assume that unless a more meaningful relationship can be achieved between the schools and students of the inner city, unless the students and their parents can be convinced that the public school establishment is making sincere and effective efforts to provide equality of educational opportunity, the student action at Northern High School will not be the last such protest movement on the part of Detroit Public School youth. The Northern boycott should give warning to those who direct and operate the public schools of Detroit that education offers the impoverished Negro youth his only accepted escape route from the ghetto; when equal educational opportunity is denied, the act of public protest appears as the only way left open to him to effect constructive change.

Northern High School, constructed in 1920, is located in the core area of Detroit on a site that is very little larger than the building itself. In 1965-66, 98.6 percent of the 2,200-member student body were Negroes. The school employed 98 professional staff members. The principal of the school in 1965-66 had served in this position since 1963, having been promoted from the assistant principalship. He had been with the Detroit school system for 43 years and was in his final year of service before retirement.

During the 1965-66 school year, a test of Northern ninth-grade students selected at random showed that 55.5 percent scored below the sixth-grade level in reading ability. Of this group, 27 percent were between the fifth- and sixth-grade levels, 23 percent scored between the third- and fifth-grade levels, and 5.5 percent had scores below the third-grade reading level.[55]

In February 1965, an educational progress test of mathematics, science, and reading ability was administered to Northern students in grades 10-B and 12-B. The tests indicated that 76 percent were below average in mathematics, 78 percent were similarly deficient in science, and 79.8 percent were "alarmingly weak in reading ability." [56] It should be expected that 50 percent of students at a given grade level would score below the ability norm; in this school, more than three-fourths of the tested students scored below average levels.

The Student Editorial. In March 1966, a twelfth-grade honor student at Northern High School wrote an editorial for the student newspaper, which he titled "Educational Camouflage." It is quoted below, unedited, as he gave it to the NEA Special Committee.

EDUCATIONAL CAMOUFLAGE

> If the Negro in America is to ever gain what is often termed as true equality he must first gain *true education.*
>
> There is a constant large number of students graduating from inner city schools who aren't going to college and aren't being sufficiently prepared for either!!! Northern is a perfect example. Too many of our graduates who do make it in college complain that during their stay here they weren't

> prepared for college courses. Some contend that it's impossible to get a sufficient education at Northern. Many students make the mistaken assumption that our low classroom achievement is standard everywhere else. So, they go their way contented with an inferior education.
>
> Lately we've seen many dramatic changes in the area of Civil Rights. Laws have been passed guaranteeing equal educational opportunities. One of two things has prevented the law from functioning properly, especially in big cities; either our ideas of equal opportunities do not conform with the government, and/or the laws just aren't being enforced with the low income Negro in mind. We simply do not feel that such a drastic difference in classroom achievement, such as the one between Redford and Northern, should be allowed to exist.
>
> Students are passed, on many occasions, because they have to be. That is, the teachers can't fail too many!
>
> Room has to be made for the next batch, so students graduate with an insufficient education and apparently little concern is aroused.
>
> In his book, Slums & Suburbs, Dr. James Conant points out that in low income areas of large cities in the U.S., 59 percent of the young men between the ages of 16 and 21 are not working. This was before the War on Poverty and other similar programs, but the number is still too large. This problem, it seems is monumental, and an indictment to the laxity and passivity with which some of our schools are being run. We wonder if the teachers in Detroit condone the present situation and if so, why do they bother to call themselves teachers?
>
> We don't believe that students should pass any class for any other reason than having completed the course satisfactorily. We suggest that an academic achievement test be standardized and given to all perspective graduates. Thus establishing a minimum ability allowed in achievement in the academic subjects.
>
> The schools that share the same problems as Northern High are also schools that are heavily populated with Negros. We doubt if this is accidental. It is more likely a direct result of de-facto segregation. We wonder if our schools are being operated on the principle that Negros aren't as capable of learning as whites, so why bother with them?

Banning of the Editorial. Before deadline time for the editorial, the student met several times with the Northern High School principal and head of the English department. He had questioned the principal about educational conditions at Northern, had told him that the article was being prepared, and had voiced the convictions that it contained. On March 25, without having seen the editorial, the principal left Detroit to attend a meeting of the North Central Accrediting Association. Before he left, the principal requested the English Department head to review the editorial when it came back in galleys from the printer and to use his own judgment concerning its publication. This was counter to normal school policy, which placed editorial content of the newspaper within the jurdisdiction of the newspaper staff's faculty adviser. Against the wishes of the faculty adviser, the English Department head deleted the editorial from the paper.

In discussing this incident with the NEA Special Committee, the English Department head gave his reasons for suppression of the editorial. He said that he considered it inflammatory and full of unsupported charges and that even if the student had written on a less sensitive subject he would have withdrawn it from publication because of the errors in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation.

A *Detroit News* report appearing on April 21, 1966, gave the following account of the English Department head's corrections of the controversial editorial:

> An original copy of the editorial was presented to the Board yesterday. On it were [the department head's] comments written in red.
>
> There was only one correction for misspelling. The remaining corrections made . . . were based on expression and sentence construction, such as the use of a split infinitive.
>
> [The English department head] also faulted [the student] for his failure to identify Dr. James B. Conant, president emeritus of Harvard University, as a doctor of philosophy. The English department head noted that a reader might mistake Dr. Conant for a medical doctor.[37]

Student Reaction. When it became known that the editorial had been censored, the author and two other student leaders began to organize the student body for a protest demonstration. Word of the movement passed swiftly to the central administration headquarters. On April 7, the day of the scheduled student walk-out and two days before the week-long Easter holiday, the superintendent went to Northern High School, where he met with the student body. Failing in his efforts to dissuade them from their intended protest demonstration, he gave them his permission to conduct it and overruled the censorship of the editorial, announcing that it would be published in a subsequent issue of the newpaper.

Demonstration, Negotiation, and Boycott. Many parents joined the Northern students in the two-hour protest march of April 7. Following the demonstration, the students and superintendent met together in the parish house of a nearby Episcopal church, whose pastor has achieved a close rapport with the children and youth of the neighborhood. At this meeting on April 7, it was agreed that the students would present a formal list of grievances to the school administration and that administrative attention would be given to remedying the inadequacies at Northern High School.

The students' first demand, submitted in a letter to the superintendent on April 15, was that the Northern principal be removed and that his replacement be someone other than the assistant principal. The students also asked for the replacement of a policeman who had been assigned to Northern in 1963 to combat the problems of narcotics peddling, prostitution, and others forms of juvenile and adult delinquency that surrounded and invaded the school. Students and some faculty members charged that this individual, a Negro, was abusive in his manner to teachers as well as students; that for example, he had admonished one teacher with the threat, "I'll knock your block off." Several prior faculty complaints had been registered concerning the principal and the policeman, although there were teachers and lay citizens who came strongly to the defense of both.

From Monday, April 18, when school reopened after the Easter holiday, through Wednesday, April 20, the Northern principal remained away from the high school, meeting with members of the central administrative staff, the Board of Education, and student representatives to discuss ways of resolving the dispute. Against the superintendent's advice, the Board of Education invited the three student leaders to present their case at a meeting on Tuesday, April 19.

The student editorialist told the NEA Special Committee: "It was not a Board meeting. . . . It was a meeting of the Board as a committee of the whole, with the superintendent presiding. The first thing he did was to tell us that he had just got back from Washington and did not know what it was all about. We had one and a half hours. After that they had to go off somewhere for a party for [the superintendent]. There was not enough time for us to present our case. Forty-five minutes of our time were used by the Board committee chairman. But we presented our case as well as we could in the time allowed. We asked if we would get a decision that night. We were told, 'You will get a decision when we are ready to give it to you.' They led us to believe that [the principal] would be back."

And on Wednesday, April 20, the superintendent did announce that the Northern High School principal would remain at the school.

Again there was a student walk-out, but this time it was for considerably longer than two hours.

Several of the student demands had been met by this time: on "routine reassignment," the Detroit Police Department moved the patrolman who had been at Northern High School, replacing him with another Negro member of the force. Administrative assurances were given that there would be no staff transfers as a result of the Northern walk-out, so long as there was no further breach of the system's established rules and regulations. Plans were made for the appointment of school study teams, each to include lay adult citizens and students, to investigate each of the city's comprehensive high schools. The Episcopal minister referred to above was appointed as chairman of the Northern High School study committee.

The Northern High School students announced, however, that they would not return to school as long as the principal remained. The student appointees to the Northern High School study team, one of whom was the student editorialist, refused to serve on the committee until the Northern principal was removed. The minister who had been asked to chair the committee stated that without student participation, he could neither lead nor take part in the high school study.

Freedom School. With assistance from adults in the community, including faculty members from Wayne State University and clergymen, the Northern students established a freedom school, holding classes in several inner-city churches. The Northern Freedom School opened on Thursday, April 21, with an enrollment of approximately 1,000. By the third day, the NEA Special Committee was told, about 1,700 pupils were attending the school. This was a number equivalent to the number in average daily attendance at Northern High School. Approximately 150 volunteer teachers served on a part-time basis in Freedom School classrooms. Some of them were lay citizens; some were faculty members from local colleges and universities; some were teachers from the public schools. While Northern was without students, 30 teachers asked for administrative permission to teach in the Freedom School; they were informed that they could do so on an after-school basis.

Students Return to Northern. On Tuesday, April 26, the fifth day of the boycott, the Northern students, at a Freedom School assembly, voted to return to the high school, having been assured by the chairman of the Board of Education that the Northern principal would not be at his desk on the next day. The School Board chairman did not clarify the principal's status, saying that the final decision regarding his future "truly and rightfully belongs in the hands of [the superintendent]." On the same day, the superintendent announced only that the Northern principal would be retained indefinitely at the School Center Building where, in meetings with the three leaders of the student protest, he would work seeking solutions to the problems of Northern. On this basis, the students returned to Northern High School. Later in the week, the superintendent announced that for the remainder of the school year, the principal of Northern, while continuing to hold this title, would be assigned to the central administrative office to work on Northern problems. The assistant principal was named acting principal of the school. Although the students had requested that school officials name some other person as replacement to the principal, they accepted the final decision of the superintendent without further protest.

The Northern High School boycott was ended, but the Northern Freedom School continued to function on an after-school basis for the remainder of the school year.

Testimony Concerning Northern Boycott. When the subcommittee of the NEA Special Committee returned to Detroit on May 10, 1966, the Northern High School boycott was a central issue of every discussion with Detroit citizens. Points of view concerning the student action and the administrative and Board reaction were sharply divergent. The Detroit school administration was censured—depending on the source of criticism—for removing the Northern High School principal and "letting the students run the schools," for not having removed the principal sooner, for ever having placed this particular individual in this post in the first place, and for not having given full administrative support to the principal regardless of whether his placement at Northern was or was not a misassignment. By his action in removing the Northern principal, the superintendent was accused of having threatened the security of all supervisory and administrative employees, whose positions are rendered particularly vulnerable by virtue of their exclusion from the collective bargaining unit for Detroit public school personnel.* There were teachers, administrators, and others who felt that the superintendent's action had, in fact, undermined the authority of the school establishment itself. One of Detroit's legislative representatives called the administrative attitude regarding the Northern situation "completely ridiculous." Allowing "17-year-old kids to dictate," he said, was tantamount to the sanctioning of "anarchy." His was not an uncommon reaction. The opinions of several persons, school employees as well as lay citizens, reflected a feeling of being threatened by what had happened at Northern High School. Their attitude clearly was "what is this world coming to?"

But there were others who said that the establishments charged with governance and education in Detroit, and the taxpaying supporters of these establishments, have had ample opportunity to see just what the world—the inner-city world—is coming to. The evidences of political and economic oppression and inequality of opportunity have long been visible, they said, to anyone who cared to look. There were school employees, and many individuals speaking for parents, religious organizations, and community groups, who saw the reassignment of the Northern High School principal as the only action the superintendent could have taken "with his back to the wall," confronting a crisis that not only threatened the ongoing program of the schools but was on the verge of spilling over into the communities of Detroit and disrupting the tenuous racial peace that has been maintained in the city since 1943.

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* Subsequent to the NEA study, the Special Committee is informed, principals and supervisory employees have been granted bargaining rights as a separate bargaining unit.

Many persons seemed to feel that the principal was the victim of a situation that had "just been waiting to happen" anywhere in the multiproblem, low-income neighborhoods of the city; and that the particular congruence of events, moods, and personalities at Northern had provided just the needed amount of friction to spark the conflagration at this school first. It was pointed out that the professional staff of Northern was sharply divided in partisan loyalties to the two opposing teachers' organizations and that the internecine conflict was one of the abrasive influences in the school.

Teachers, as well as lay citizens, were also divided in their points of view concerning the banning of the student editorial. A member of the Northern High School staff contended, "It isn't a matter of freedom of the press. You can't go around making unsupported charges, spreading inflammatory material." But there were many people, including school employees, who contended that there was nothing "unsupported" about the student's charges and nothing in his editorial that was not already known by anyone who knew inner-city schools. They contended that the censorship was not only an abridgement of academic freedom, but a useless abridgement, since by refusing to publish a truth, one does not nullify it.

The NEA Subcommittee met with several Northern High School faculty members who were strongly supportive of the principal, describing him as "one hundred percent effective" in his position. They said that they felt that 55 or 60 percent of the Northern staff would join them in their support of his administration. They felt that the student editorial was not the proper vehicle for airing the issues of educational inequality, and in the matter of academic freedom, one said, "I draw the line between a college newspaper and a high school newspaper." They expressed agreement with one teacher's comment that "if anyone had understood and studied the situation, there would have been a student and staff assembly for discussion of the problems." When asked why this had not taken place, they reported that the principal had "not encouraged faculty-student-administrative communication," and that they did not know why—that this was just the way he felt. One teacher attributed the student unrest, in part, to the fact that "too many parents are pushing their children into the college preparatory program," where they cannot keep up. She stated that teachers at Northern have had to pass students who are not qualified for promotion. "If there is more than a 15 percent failure rate," it was reported, "we are called into the principal's office to explain why." This directive, the teachers said, came from the central administrative office.

The principal of Northern, in his interview with NEA Subcommittee members, denied that the programs and services of this school were inferior to those of any other school in the city. He stated that when he was appointed principal and when the policeman was assigned at Northern, the school and its neighborhood were infested with assorted juvenile and adult delinquencies. He said that they had done what seemed necessary to alleviate these problems and that up until the time of the boycott, Northern had become a quiet and orderly school under his supervision.

Discussing student achievement levels at Northern, several persons, including members of the school administration, expressed the opinion that the school was doing all it could do, but it would be unreasonable to expect better results considering the background of the student body.

Northern High School students expressed greater expectations for the possibilities—and great dissatisfaction with the realities—of public education in the ghetto. In essays written in Northern Freedom School classrooms, some of them wrote . . .

> In an accelerated English course, in which only superior students are placed for supposedly "enriched" English we're getting the same or less than general English students . . . Is this what's being taught at other public schools?
>
> . . . .
>
> In my biology class the teacher is most helpful and I learn a lot, but we only have books. It isn't really a biology classroom, just a room.
>
> . . . .
>
> We have ability but we need adequate facilities to have them fully developed.
>
> . . . .
>
> In sewing classes there are about 12 machines for maybe 29 or 30 girls and only about five or six of them work.
>
> . . . .
>
> In typing, the typewriters are broken most of the time. In swimming, a polar bear couldn't stand the icy water.
>
> . . . .
>
> I think Northern has too many teachers that don't care about the students. . . . They give us work and sometimes don't care if we get it or not. They say that the black boys and girls don't want to learn, so therefore they don't put much in their jobs.[7]

The NEA Subcommittee was unable to go into Northern High School to evaluate school facilities and plant. A home economics teacher at the school reported that there were 11 sewing machines in her class and there were 28 children in the largest class. She stated that 10 of the machines worked. It was reported that the school had one office machines room and three typing rooms, that "35 or 40" new electric typewriters were put in the school about "a year or year and a half ago" for all Typing I students, and that the other two typing rooms had manual machines. It was also reported that although there were enough typewriters for the number of typing stations, sometimes there were not enough machines when attendance was high, because all of the typewriters were not operative.

Subsequently to the on-site NEA investigation, a group of Michigan teachers went to Detroit to visit schools. NEA staff assistants to the Special Committee, learning of their visit, got in touch with these teachers, hoping to obtain some reliable firsthand reports of observable school conditions, particularly in Northern High School. One member of this group stated that the teachers' visitation team had not been permitted to go into Northern. Of the other schools visited by this teacher, the report was that, despite the school construction program and the recent infusion of federal and state funds into inner-city and transitional area schools, the system has not yet succeeded in equalizing the physical facilities of these schools with those of the schools in the more affluent urban fringe.

Interviews with Adults Assisting in Freedom School. Perhaps one of the most controversial outcomes of the Northern boycott was the establishment and continuance on an after-school basis of the students' freedom school. There were those in the community who viewed this as a dangerously radical, irresponsible project, initiated and led by "militants" and "troublemakers."

NEA Special Committee members could find no evidence that this was a true characterization when they visited the minister whose church parish house served as the Northern Freedom School headquarters . . . unless the achievement of an honest and mutually respectful relationship between adults and economically, educationally disadvantaged students and their engagement in a mutual effort to enhance the self-concept and achievement possibilities of the students are considered "radical," "irresponsible," "militant," and "trouble-making."

There were numerous interruptions to this interview, which was conducted in the parish house. Children of varying ages and of both races were in and out frequently, getting playground equipment, inquiring about programs and plans in progress, asking the minister if he could join them in their activities. They appeared to be as much at ease—and perhaps some of them were more so—as they would be in their own homes. Dance music was heard from an upstairs room; in other parts of the building tutoring sessions were going on. Among the volunteer tutors at that time was the author of the controversial Northern editorial, a young man of whom another student, in an interview with the Special Committee, said, "He was like the Pied Piper when he led those Northern kids."

The Episcopal minister spoke of several significant points that he saw in the Northern student movement. "The parents did rally around the students once the students took their stand." But he saw it as "a symptom of the powerlessness of the adult community that the twelfth-grade students had to be the ones to take action against inequality." He felt that in their protest against inferior educational opportunities, the students were exercising the rights of students in a democracy. "They should have some share of the control of institutions of learning as they grow up," he said. "The right to participate transcends even the peculiar conditions of the ghetto."

The objectives of the Freedom School as a continuing, part-time operation, the acting director* said, were to offset as much as possible the gap between children's very low achievement levels and their potential levels of performance and to help build a sense of identity and of their own worth in children whose ego development has been stunted by poverty and racial discrimination. To accomplish these objectives, he said, the Freedom School was offering extensive remedial education by means of tutorial assistance and was providing a curriculum designed to reach and relate to the children as the public school curriculum had not succeeded in doing. Additions to the standard curriculum included courses in Negro history and art, in American jazz, in the techniques of taking and passing examinations, and in grooming and self-development.

The acting director said that the Freedom School was under the direction of a board composed of three elected students, three parents, three faculty coordinators, and the acting director and his assistant. He stressed that adults were assisting as friends and were not directing the program. Because these young people have somehow been alienated from traditional education, he said, a fresh and different approach is necessary if they are to be reached; if the school is to have meaning for its students, they themselves must feel responsible for its direction and support.

Because of the extent of volunteer teaching help, the school was able to provide an extremely favorable pupil-teacher ratio; and because of the commitment of those who came to teach in the school, the acting director said, a close rapport had been achieved between students and teachers. He emphasized also that the Freedom School could not, and was not meant to, replace a quality public school. But, he said, when the public school fails the pupil in important areas of learning, the students, left to their own devices, will find replacements for what they miss in school, and they will often find them by less healthful means than if they have access to a freedom school.

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* Identified in Detroit as the acting principal of the Freedom School.

So far as the NEA Special Committee has been able to determine, the leaders of the Northern Freedom School were unable to achieve a workable adjustment between student self-direction and the external direction required for continuing financial support. It is reported that the afternoon and evening Freedom School classes have not spread to other low-income areas of the city nor have they continued during the 1966-67 school year.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Inequalities and deficiencies in the educational opportunity available to Detroit Public School youth have their origin, not only in the social and economic inequalities of the urban society, but in the preconditioned attitudes that teachers and administrators, as well as students, bring to the school system.

Many believe that there can be no equal educational opportunity until the total environment of the disadvantaged is changed, until opportunities in all other areas of life are more nearly equal. This concept has some validity, but it can be misused as a rationalization for the failure of the public schools to reach and relate to children who have not grown up in the middle-class system of values and behavior. Such a view, Deutsch points out, "often leads to negation not only of the essential responsibility of the school but also of the actual and potential strengths of the children."

No one should claim that the public school system, or any other agency alone, can solve the problems of economic, educational, social, and political inequality that are so explosively concentrated in the big city. For this reason, the Committee has addressed itself throughout this report to the interrelationship of the school system and other public agencies as jointly responsible for the existing conditions of inequality and jointly responsible for their amelioration. The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee are offered on the same basis.

Fiscal Reform for Equality of Educational Opportunity

Lack of funds is a barrier to every proposed educational solution of the problems of inequality in Detroit. The public school investment is never enough to build the needed classrooms, to pay for the necessary school facilities, and to attract sufficient numbers of qualified professional personnel to provide quality education for all of the children in all of the neighborhoods of the city. Traditionally, as Sexton and others have clearly established, the children who have been left out have been the "children without." The compensatory efforts that the Detroit Public Schools have been able to finance, with federal and state assistance, have not been sufficient to right the educational imbalance.

Throughout the nation, it is becoming increasingly obvious that traditional methods of public school support will no longer adequately serve the needs of a mobile population, 70 percent of which is now concentrated in metropolitan areas. Whereas once the city was the source of equalization support for the outlying areas, the city must now have assistance, particularly from the wealthier suburban areas. This is possible only through extension and improvement, on a more nearly equalized basis, of federal and state support for public education. It also involves a recognition of the need for greatly increased investments in education, such as the doubling of support for public education proposed by the recently retired superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools.

Many factors within the urban socioeconomic structure, working adversely to the public interest, have deepened the stress of poverty and educational disadvantage in Detroit slums during this century. But in Detroit, as in other great cities, the imbalance of wealth, education, and social class between races had its origin in rural, impoverished, racially segregated regions. It should be clear that the support of public education can no longer be considered purely in a local or even in a regional context. Ignorance cannot be held in quarantine. The consequences of miseducation and undereducation of American youth—in whatever region they may occur—are cumulative and nationwide.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the Detroit School Board and administration make every effort to locate and utilize all possible sources of federal and state funding that will assist in alleviating the educational disadvantage of students in low-income areas of the city.

The NEA Special Committee strongly endorses the efforts of the Michigan Education Association, the Detroit Education Association, and other groups that seek revision of the Michigan tax structure. The adoption of a state personal and corporate income tax and other progressive measures would permit a greater commitment of state resources to public education and other public services essential to the equalization of opportunity for all Michigan citizens.

The NEA Special Committee recommends enactment of measures that will make increased allowance for the tax overburden and the massive and urgent problems of economic and educational deprivation in the cities of Michigan—and most particularly in its largest city.

In the Recommendations to the Governor accompanying the 1962-64 Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the former superintendent said: "It does not require a great deal of imagination to conclude that the cost of educating a child who comes from an environment lacking all the earmarks of a middle-class home will be considerably more than to educate the youngster to whom we refer as average." [58]

The NEA Special Committee recommends to the Michigan legislature that the state program of school support provide for at least the following educational improvements in depressed urban areas, which were recommended by the state superintendent in 1965:

1. Reduce class size to approximately 15-20.

2. Provide better trained and more master teachers so that an understanding of the lives and backgrounds of the students is gained and so that better teaching adapted to individual needs will be provided at all levels.
3. Extend the school day and year . . . to continue the students' contact with the new environment where learning becomes an acceptable activity and to provide activities which are not available in the disadvantaged home and community.
4. Extend the school program down to age 3 to provide cultural background and social competency.
5. Engage many more specialists, such as psychologists, visiting teachers, remedial teachers, and special subject teachers.
6. Provide better health services to improve the health and hygiene of economically underprivileged children.[59]

Tax Structure Revision To Promote Urban Property Improvement: At present, there is no legally adopted program with authority of law to ensure an improved quality of living for residents in the central city of Detroit.

The NEA Special Committee recommends to city and state leadership that aggressive efforts be made to incorporate in Michigan's fiscal reform program legislation that will provide for a tax structure so graduated that construction and maintenance of improved housing in the City of Detroit will be rewarded. In the framework of such a graduated tax program, the profit in all housing and building which increases urban deterioration would be removed. Tax inducements should be provided for those property owners and builders who maintain their property in optimum condition; tax penalties should be imposed to take the profit out of slum landlordsmanship. The soaring costs of welfare, police, and various poverty-related programs should in fact be paid more proportionately by those whose lack of fundamental concern for the health and welfare of the city has created these very problems.

Equalization of Educational Opportunity Through Resource Allocation

The continued use of a city-wide pupil-teacher ratio or of city-wide standards of resource allocation to the Detroit Public Schools is incongruous with the present realities of educational need. Although federal and state funds have made it possible to institute compensatory services and programs in selected low-income area schools, the insufficiency of these funds and the school system's adherence to the concept of a system-wide standard of resource allocation constitutes a denial of equal educational opportunity to those students whose total living environment has created learning and behavior problems that demand a far greater expenditure of effort, professional commitment, and funds. The incongruity of the system-wide standard concept might be illustrated by the suggestion that if it were to become the budgetary practice of hospitals to utilize this concept, it would mean the end of intensive care units for critically ill patients; medical services and facilities would be supplied, not on the basis of need, but on the basis of a hospital-wide standard.

The NEA Special Committee recommends to the Board of Education and school administration that the regular public school budget be reorganized to incorporate, on a continuing basis, provision for compensatory education in depressed urban areas, with all that this entails in terms of educational facilities, services, and staff. Pilot projects in selected schools, funded for a limited length of time and instituted with the implicit demand for promptly tangible good results, are not enough to produce a true approach to equality of educational opportunity. The NEA Special Committee is aware of the inadequacy of school operational and capital outlay funds, as noted in its earlier recommendation; however, there should be a re-examination of resource allocation of the funds that are available; and there should be utilization of new funds that become available in accordance with educational need, rather than with a system-wide standard of allocation.

In all fairness to the children and youth of Detroit, as a means of compensating for past failures to provide equality of educational opportunity, and out of concern for the future of the city itself, the Detroit Board of Education and school administration should now make extraordinary effort to provide for unusually strong and meaningful educational opportunities in the depressed areas of the city. This effort should apply not only to the school plant, but also to the school program and the quality of instructional services; it should be made, not only in the schools that now enroll predominantly Negro pupil populations, but also in those schools that are currently integrated, in order to hold and strengthen the racial balance and curb the Caucasian retreat to the suburbs.

Concerted, concentrated, and sincere effort should be made to provide supplementary background experiences for youth who lack incentive for academic achievement. This should be considered to be, not outside the normal function of the public school system, but as much a basic responsibility of public education as is the teaching of academic subjects.

Instructional materials and supplies should be made readily available in accordance with the particular needs of inner-city schools.

The school administration should devote concentrated effort to the study, application, and evaluation of more imaginative and effective methods of professional staff deployment, including the provision of incentives to attract highly qualified teachers to inner-city schools to improve the quality of teaching, relieve the teacher shortage, and substantially reduce class sizes in these schools.

Teacher Preparation for Inner-City Schools

It is clear that problems of the "multiproblem" schools of Detroit are, in substantial measure, the problems of administrators and teachers in adapting themselves and the educational environment to the needs of children whose conditioned values, outlooks, and concerns are at odds with the prevailing attitudes and strictures of a middle-class culture. There must be more than a one-way "acculturation" process if the chasm of misunderstanding between the school and its staff on the one hand and the students and their community on the other is ever to be bridged. And the necessary adaptation of the inner-city school to its community must begin with preparation of the teacher.

In-Service Education for Teachers. ***Increased effort should be made to provide teachers, and special assistants for teachers, with background and preparation to equip them more adequately with the skills and understandings to work with children in disadvantaged areas.*** In-service education programs for teachers in these areas should be expanded and improved to offer continued and meaningful opportunity for professional growth. Particularly in low-income area schools, time should be provided within the school day so that teachers can derive maximum professional growth benefits from the in-service programs; and teachers should be made to understand that availing themselves of the opportunities for professional growth is an intrinsic part of their professional responsibility.

Preservice Education. Vernon Haubrich, associate professor of education, Teachers College, Columbia University, in addressing a regional conference of the NEA Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, urged a closer working relationship between public schools and colleges of teacher education and the cooperative establishment of "schools for inquiry" in disadvantaged areas, modeled along the lines of the teaching hospital, offering teacher internship programs through which the interested teacher candidate could learn and "become deeply involved in the life style, the style of learning, and the style of living of those we call deprived or disadvantaged or segregated." [60] He said—

> It would seem to me a valuable thing for teachers to face the kind of dysfunctionalities and ambiguities and problems in teaching children who come from homes where parents are missing, children who arrive in school from

> children's shelters, children who do not fit into our classical lockstep in the public school; in working with families where answers are not so simple and clean and direct or with families who may not know of Harvard or the best school in the West or any of the other kinds of status symbols we all live with. It seems to me that involving a person deeply in this for a long period of time is an absolute prerequisite if teacher education is going to move in the direction of genuinely attempting to help people through the classroom situation.[61]

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the Detroit Board of Education and school administration explore with several universities the development of creative approaches to the preparation of teachers in attitude and competence to function effectively in disadvantaged area schools. The Haubrich concept of developing "schools for inquiry" is one such approach, and a promising one. With more vision and vigor on the part of professors who teach teachers and with effective cooperation between schools and teacher education institutions, the challenge and opportunity for solving the problems of multiproblem schools could begin to be met.

Teacher Orientation. ***The NEA Special Committee recommends that the Board of Education and school administration develop a carefully organized program of teacher orientation, particularly in the multiproblem low-income area schools.*** Such a program should not be dependent on the initiative of the building principal, but should involve teachers and principals of several neighboring school attendance areas, with the assistance of a paid consultant, assigned on a regular basis to a specific number of schools and employed for the purpose of working with the new teachers and principals in an ongoing program of orientation to the schools and their communities. Such a program could greatly enhance the effectiveness of teachers and significantly reduce the high teacher turnover rates in Detroit's inner-city and transitional area schools.

Urban Planning for Equality of Opportunity

The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 represented on the part of the federal government a small and tenuous first step * toward a major national goal—that of improving the quality of urban life in America. Under Title I of the Act, the U.S. Department of

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*Tenuous because, although $400 million was authorized by the Eighty-Ninth Congress for operation of the program, the Ninetieth Congress has not yet appropriated the funds, and supporters of the legislation are concerned that the authorized amount—a minimal one considering the ambitious nature of the program—may be still further reduced by the present Congress.

Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is authorized to issue grants that will cover up to 80 percent of the amount that a city is required to provide to participate in federally assisted community renewal programs, aimed at eliminating the physical, economic, and social blight of hard-core poverty neighborhoods.

If carried out in all of its phases, with the necessary commitment, understanding, and knowledge of inner-city problems and with administrative efficiency and adequate financing, the Demonstration Cities Program in Detroit could indeed mark a significant beginning to core city renewal and to a revival of the urban economy and of the hopes of ghetto residents for equality of opportunity in education, housing, employment, and general socioeconomic condition.

Whether the Ninetieth Congress will make sufficient funds available to finance this significant beginning is unknown, although current signs and portents are far from hopeful. ***Nevertheless, the NEA Special Committee recommends to the mayor, to city planning and renewal officials, and to educational and social service agency leadership, not only that the below-listed features of the program (quoted from the HUD Guidelines to the Demonstration Cities Act) be incorporated in any Demonstration Cities Program that may be approved for Detroit, but that they be key components of all community renewal projects that are undertaken in the City of Detroit:***

> ***The program should provide for administrative machinery at the local level to carry out the program on a consolidated and coordinated basis.*** The administrative machinery for carrying out the program should overcome fragmentation of effort at the local level. It should be designed to pull together the responsibility and authority which may be dispersed in a variety of autonomous and semi-autonomous governmental units and private agencies.
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> ***The program should make marked progress in reducing social and educational disadvantages, ill health, underemployment.*** . . . In order to make marked progress in these fields, cities should strive to develop comprehensive, mutually reinforcing service systems for area residents. In determining the services necessary, the expressed needs and desires of area residents should be considered as well as the necessity to increase awareness of an acceptance of service by, and the accessibility of services to, the poor and disadvantaged.
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> ***The program should provide for widespread citizen participation.*** . . . Neighborhood residents should be provided a meaning-

ful role in the rebuilding and restructuring of their own communities; planning should be carried out *with* as well as *for* the people living in the affected area. Active involvement is important both in building the local support necessary for program success and in developing the capacity and self-sufficiency in area residents necessary to sustain gains made through the program.

Programs should provide mechanisms for a flow of communication and meaningful dialogue between the citizens of the area and the demonstration agency. Voice should be given to all elements of the local population from all parts of the area. Existing neighborhood organizations which have already established close ties with the area population, as well as new organizations developed by grass-roots organizational efforts, should be utilized. . . .

The program should provide maximum opportunities for employing residents of the area in all phases of the program and enlarged opportunities for work and training. . . . Program projects and activities should result in new employment and new careers in social service fields and should stimulate new employment in the construction trades, as well as in others. This job creation potential should result in jobs for qualified residents and should be translated into institutional and on-the-job training programs designed to provide unemployed and underemployed residents with the needed skills. . . .

In the carrying out of the program, the fullest utilization possible should be made of private initiative and enterprise. . . . The involvement and encouragement of private enterprise can be achieved in a variety of ways: soliciting the advice and consultation of business leadership within the community; working with employers to develop training and manpower programs; preserving and expanding small business and commercial opportunities within the model neighborhood area; encouraging and assisting builders and contractors in rehabilitation and new construction and lending institutions in providing financing. Of particular interest would be consideration of special tax and other incentives to encourage rehabilitation and new construction and to help attract major commercial or industrial activities to the area.

The program should also be designed to ensure maximum involvement of voluntary nonprofit health, welfare and religious organizations in planning and executing the program.[62]

Educational Representation on City Planning Bodies: The attraction of renewal areas in the city cannot be effective without a productive program of public education in these areas. ***To this end, the NEA Special Committee recommends that representatives of the school system with technical information and ability concerning school facilities and problems should be included as regular or advisory members of the City Plan Commission and other municipal development agencies.*** Inclusion of competent educators from the outset of city planning efforts could ensure maximum coordination of effort on the part of civic and educational leadership to align school and city planning programs to be mutually supportive in the renewal of the city.

Equalizing Educational Opportunity Through Ending De Facto Segregation of Schools

The public school system is in a key position to bring people of different racial and class groups together when they are young enough and flexible enough to escape the stereotypes that have handicapped their elders. In this sense, the school system can, if it will, make a powerful contribution to the broadened social understandings of children and to the nation in which those children will become adult citizens, leaders, and decision makers.

The NEA Special Committee is convinced that the economic, as well as the racial, segregation of students is educationally harmful to all classes of children—to those who grow up in the cultural isolation of white, middle-class neighborhoods, as well as to those who are isolated by poverty and alienated by racial discrimination.

Typically, the child attending a segregated Negro school is a child of low socioeconomic status who has spent all of his life in a racial ghetto and who has always been an "outsider," as Deutsch points out—"not only excluded from the mainstream, but . . . not even allowed to bathe in the tributaries." The public school system offers many of these children their only opportunity to move out of the brutal vise of racial and economic segregation.

Typically, the segregated Negro school has offered the second- and third-bests, the hand-me-downs and leftovers of school services, facilities, and professional personnel. The long history of educational neglect in urban and rural ghettoes has been such that the burden of proof for equalizing school offerings now rests with the school system. Racial and economic desegregation of schools is vital, not only to the enrichment and expansion of the cultural understandings of all children, but to give evidence that the school system is making in good faith efforts to provide equality of educational opportunity to all children.

The present "open schools" policy places the burden of responsibility on the students and their families. The responsibility for ending segregation within the school system rightfully belongs to the School Board and administration.

Therefore, the NEA Special Committee recommends to the leadership of the Detroit Public Schools that prompt action be taken to develop and implement educationally sound programs that will substantially reduce the de facto segregation of students. Throughout the desegregation process, continuing emphasis should be placed on providing such a high quality of education in the core city that parents could find no school-related reason for fleeing the city.

The selection of a specific desegregation plan is a matter for local determination. However, the Committee does urge school officials to examine, with a specific view to local adaptation, the desegregation experiences of other cities. Among the administrative measures that have been proposed and used, with varying degrees of success, are the establishment of paired schools, bussing students specifically for the purpose of desegregation, and redistricting to provide a genuine, rather than a statistically illusory, racial and economic cross section in each administrative region.

The initiation of positive desegregation methods should not deter school officials from encouraging voluntary desegregation of schools.

To encourage voluntary desegregation, the NEA Special Committee recommends the establishment of a "plus factor" at each comprehensive high school throughout the city. Each comprehensive high school should be organized to provide some outstanding feature of specialized educational programing. Students should be permitted to attend any high school on the basis of their choice of educational specialty, with their transportation costs paid by the Board of Education.

Desegregation of Professional and Nonprofessional Personnel

The ending of de facto segregation of students is only part of the task that must be accomplished if there is to be true equality of educational opportunity in the Detroit Public Schools.

If the public school system is to fulfill its responsibility for teaching well its lessons in citizenship, in democracy, and in human relations, it must offer children of both races the opportunity to know Negro adults as inspiring, friendly, firm authority figures—in short, as good teachers. It must offer Negro pupils the opportunity to know white adults not just as symbols of authority, but as sympathetic, empathetic schoolteachers.

Moreover, through a scrupulous adherence to fair employment practices, the Detroit Public School System will serve as an example of the democratic principles that it seeks to instill in its students; and, as one of the largest employers in the city, it can exert constructive influence on the employment practices of other employing organizations—particularly on the employers and trade unions that are joint participants with the school system in apprentice training and cooperative work programs.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the school administration increase its efforts to further the racial balance among professional and nonprofessional staff throughout the system and that it adopt positive measures to widen promotional opportunities for Negro personnel.

Eliminating Racial Discrimination in Apprentice Training Programs

There has been only token integration in the apprentice training programs operated jointly with employing and union or craft organizations.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the Detroit Board of Education and school administration take immediate and positive action, as recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Equal Educational Opportunity, to end racial discrimination in the selection of students for apprentice training programs.

The Special Committee recommends immediate suspension or termination of any programs in which the participating employers, unions, and/or trade organizations refuse to comply with Board antidiscrimination policy. These programs are partially supported by federal funds. Neither school system participation in, nor federal support of, such programs should be maintained in the face of persistent failure to comply with Board policy and with federal statutes.

The NEA Special Committee further recommends that additional funds and personnel be sought by the Board of Education to greatly expand the preapprenticeship training programs in inner-city high schools in order to identify, counsel, and provide special educational services for students with potential ability for and interest in apprenticeship and cooperative-work programs. Federal funds would be far better expended in this effort than in the support of training classes from which students are excluded on the basis of race.

Equalizing Educational Opportunities Through Desegregation of School Programing

The "ability ghettoes" of the school system can be as debilitating to the educational welfare of children as the racial or economic ghettoes are to the welfare of the larger populations of a city. Careful study should be made of various processes such as "mental ability" testing, "ability" grouping, and other devices that exclude the have-not student from remedial instruction and specialized educational programs.

The establishment of academic and IQ level standards for entry into specialized programs of high school study denies opportunities to the low-income student on the basis of handicaps that this student has already incurred through previous denials of opportunity. When a child is not given a chance to learn to read in the early grades, it makes little difference what his ability potential is if later the availability of other programs to him is based on reading ability.

The NEA Special Committee recommends to the Detroit Board of Education and school administration that there be research on and development of other indices to intellectual and ability potential than the IQ test. Until better methods of student evaluation are devised, the Special Committee recommends that provision be made to enroll in all of the specialized quality high school programs a proportion of applicants from throughout the city who have scored below the norm on IQ and achievement tests but who have demonstrated the potential to function well within these programs.

To avoid the later "ability" segregation of students, the NEA Special Committee recommends that budget emphasis be placed on providing additional staff and educational program and facility improvement in elementary schools in the inner city and transitional areas, and on headstart and other preschool programs in these areas. Only through equalization of educational opportunity in the elementary and preschool years can any lasting solution be found to the class- and race-imposed problem of the public school "ability ghetto."

Equalizing Educational Opportunities in Higher Education

Increasingly the colleges are determining what individuals will be given opportunity in society. In most cases they set standards, intentionally or not, that tend to exclude Negroes, particularly children from disadvantaged areas. Such standards often appear to be arbitrary and irrelevent, for experience has shown that individuals from such areas can often perform well in many programs which would have been denied them if traditional standards had been applied.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that at least one junior college and one advanced technical school be established in Detroit soon. Such schools should be directed to seek enrollees from areas of the city that do not normally have opportunity for advanced education beyond high school.

Detroit will continue to lose part of its most valuable resource—the human resource of the city—until additional educational opportunities become available without regard to race, economic status, or location in the city.

Translation of Public Relations Image into Reality

Testimony received by the NEA Special Committee strongly indicated that the public school establishment in Detroit, and some individual schools, have operated largely in isolation from and insulation against the concerns of inner-city communities.

The NEA Special Committee recommends a reorientation of the school public relations department with the personnel, facilities, and commitment necessary to do an effective job of informing and communicating with the public. This office should provide citizens with reliable information concerning the problems and needs of the schools, as well as their successes, and should develop ways of securing information from the public.

The Special Committee recommends that schools and civic officials give serious consideration to the following innovations through which the school system might be opened up to the communities it serves:

- ***The appointment of an "Ombudsman" for public education.*** The *Ombudsmanship* was first established in Sweden when an independent commissioner was appointed by the legislature to investigate complaints registered by citizens against the governmental bureaucracy. The office of *Ombudsman* has been established successfully in other European countries and is presently being given official consideration at the levels of state and municipal government in this nation. Adequately staffed, and supported independently of school funds, the office of the *Ombudsman* for public education could communicate directly with a public often frustrated by the impersonality of the educational bureaucracy. It would provide a grievance procedure for citizens, an efficient means of investigating their complaints, redressing their just grievances, and informing them of the facts of the situation when their concern is based on a faulty assumption or when the problem, for logical reasons, cannot immediately be solved.

- ***The establishment of systematic opinion research procedures.*** Through periodic opinion polls to learn what the parents think, what the teachers think, and what the students think about their schools, and through careful evaluation of, and actions based on, opinionnaire responses, public school leadership will be able to maintain a constructive dialogue with the various segments of the educational community. Through utilization of such procedures, the educational establishment will be able to develop a greater rapport with staff members and will convey to students, as well as their parents, that these groups are regarded as valuable resources for educational improvement—as indeed they should be regarded.

Inner-City Parent-Citizen Involvement in the Educational Enterprise

There is evidence that the areas of the Detroit school district where the parents and other citizens are in a position to make their demands known to school officials are most likely to be given attention and secure school improvements. Parents of the inner city, who have little representation on school or municipal governing bodies, tend to have less contact with the schools and to be less insistent in their requests for changes and improvements. There is evidence, also, as noted in the foregoing section, that the school administration, and some individual inner-city schools, have shown a marked lack of response to the concerns of the low-income, Negro community. Those citizens groups that, despite the unresponsiveness of school officials, have organized and persistently demanded a voice in the development of educational plans and programs, have effected a degree of constructive change. With a new superintendent now in office, there is hope that these groups may be able to achieve an even greater measure of success in improving school conditions in the inner city and in school desegregation efforts.

The NEA Special Committee recommends to the parents and other citizens of the inner city who are not now participating in an organized effort toward equalizing educational opportunity that they organize groups to study the needs of the schools or that they join and give strong support to organizations already formed for this purpose.

Organizations such as the Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Equal Educational Opportunity represent a coalition of organized effort on the part of that segment of the Detroit population that, for too long, has been unrepresented and unheard in the city; it is to be hoped that this group, and others like it, can draw greater participation from citizens groups in all areas of the inner city and transitional areas of Detroit, in order to expand and strengthen their influence for constructive educational change.

School Board-Administration-Staff Relationships

Because of zealous concern with the restrictive elements of its collective bargaining agreement with one portion of its staff, and without making any appreciable effort to find means for better communication with its entire staff, the Board of Education and administration of the Detroit Public Schools have in effect lost contact with a sizable proportion of the school district's own employees. There appears to have been a failure to distinguish between bargaining with a selected group of employees and supplying information to or having access to the ideas and resources of the entire staff. This almost complete cutting off of normal relationships is in the long run as damaging to the majority group in the city as it is to those who are presently being denied the opportunity of making their full contribution to the welfare of the schools.

The NEA Special Committee recommends that the School Board and the school administration break the "paper curtain" and establish more meaningful employer-employee relationships that will give them full access to the talents, experience, and ideas of the entire staff. The fact that the Board has granted exclusive bargaining rights to one group does not make any of its other employees less the responsibility of the Board. There is great need to enlist the ability of the entire staff of the school system in a massive effort to improve educational opportunity for all Detroit children, particularly those of the inner city.

The Professional Association: Alliances for Change

No single group of persons, excepting the victims of poverty and racial discrimination, will derive greater benefits from the eradication of slums and the amelioration of poverty than will the teachers.

The NEA Special Committee, therefore, offers the following recommendations to the leadership and members of the Detroit Education Association and to all teachers:

Quite aside from humanitarian considerations, it will be to the professional self-interest of its members for the teachers association to ally itself with community organizations that are engaged in campaigns to secure a stronger political voice for the city's low-income and no-income groups, and to promote fair housing and improved employment, earnings, and educational opportunities for those who live in the racial and economic ghettoes of the city.

No one group, nor even a few groups, can influence the urban citizenry and power structure sufficiently to make significant progress in these directions. It will take a coalition of community effort; and every professional group that involves itself in the effort will increase the base of power from which constructive social change may come about.

The Detroit Education Association has a significant role with respect to the bargaining process. Through vigilance with respect to the nature and results of collective bargaining, it can help to bring about more productive, professionally responsible representation.

But whatever its representational status, the teachers organization can provide no more meaningful service to its membership, to the profession, and to students than by extending itself beyond the classroom into the community dynamics of social and political action. Such a course, the Special Committee believes, will gain for the organization more members than it loses. But of vastly greater importance will be the following accomplishments:

1. For every measure of progress toward breaking down the barriers of class and caste in the city, there will be a further measure of progress toward creating a classroom environment that is conducive to effective teaching and learning.
2. Alliance with socially concerned citizens groups throughout the city will enhance the strength of the professional association and will solidify its power base within the school system. To effect the educational changes that they propose, teachers do not have to adopt a position that will be overwhelmingly popular with the educational establishment, but they do have to hold a position of power which will command official and public respect.
3. Involvement in the life of the community and commitment to its needs will enable teachers to perceive more clearly the forces that motivate the students of disadvantaged background and will help them to relate to students in such a way that meaningful educational experience can take place.

Concluding Statements

To any person responsible for the educational welfare of the children of Detroit, the words of the Northern High School editor should ceaselessly cry out for attention. They pose a question beyond their immediate concern with the young unemployed.

> . . . This problem, it seems, is monumental, and an indictment to the laxity and passivity with which some of our schools are being run.

The fact that the problems that Detroit faces are of tremendous complexity and difficulty is no excuse for relative inaction. The Detroit Public School System—the Board of Education, the administration, and the teachers—and the governmental and public service agencies of the city have shown too little evidence of perceptive, ingenious, or successful efforts to try to solve these problems on a system-wide basis.

Appendix

In November 1965, the president and executive secretary of the Detroit Education Association (DEA), pursuant to the direction of the DEA Congress, wired the NEA and the Michigan Education Association (MEA), requesting a joint investigation of educational conditions in Detroit Public Schools. In a public announcement of the investigation request, the DEA president stated:

> The educational problems facing Detroit students and teachers are becoming more acute. High class sizes have not been reduced, proper instructional materials are still insufficient. The teacher shortage continues. These are a few of the poor conditions that are driving teachers from Detroit.[63]

The *Detroit Education News* of December 7, 1965, expressed the purposes of the requested investigation, as envisaged by DEA leadership:

> Maintaining quality education is a difficult task. It requires understanding, appreciation, and support from the citizens in the community. An investigation of this type by MEA-NEA will focus attention on the basic problems in a positive way, will help citizens better understand the state of educational conditions in Detroit Public Schools, and will produce constructive recommendations for solving these problems.[64]

Following a preliminary inquiry in Detroit in January 1966, the executive secretary and associate legal counsel of the NEA PR&R Commission recommended that the Commission authorize a full-scale investigation in the city. At the time of the preliminary inquiry, the Detroit superintendent of schools gave assurance of administrative cooperation should further investigative work be projected in Detroit by the PR&R Commission.

Investigation Authorized

On March 10, 1966, the Interim Committee of the PR&R Commission voted its approval of the MEA-NEA investigation of Detroit school conditions. Authorization by the MEA Board of Directors in February 1966 had followed preliminary inquiries by the state association staff. It was agreed that the joint investigation would be conducted in Detroit March 27 through 30, 1966, by a 12-member committee, six members to be selected by MEA and six by the NEA PR&R Commission.

Preliminary Complications

The dates for the investigation were changed from March 27 through 30, to April 3 through 6, 1966, following a telephoned report from the MEA executive secretary that the Detroit superintendent of schools had expressed his unavailability to meet with the investigating group on the earlier date and had requested postponement to the week of April 3, at which time, the superintendent had said, such a meeting could be arranged.

The change in dates turned out to be only the first and least of the complications surrounding the Detroit case. From the time it was authorized to its conclusion, the course of the investigation was greatly influenced by circumstances quite irrelevant to its purpose.

Summarized below are certain background factors which were very much in the foreground of events that preceded and conditions that accompanied the NEA study of Detroit Public Schools.

1. A representation election among Detroit teachers in 1964 gave majority status to the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) authorizing that organization as the teachers sole bargaining agent. In September 1965, under the mandate of recent legislation (see next paragraph), the Detroit Board of Education officially certified the DFT sole bargaining agent for Detroit teachers and entered into a formal collective bargaining contract with the organization.

2. Legislative amendment of Michigan labor laws in 1965 (Michigan Public Employees Act, amended by Public Act 379, and Michigan Labor Mediation Act, amended by Public Act 282) granted collective bargaining or negotiating rights to all employees of the state and its political subdivisions and extended the jurisdiction of the Michigan Labor Mediation Board to enforcement of labor relations statutes and mediation of collective bargaining disputes in the public sector.

When DEA, the minority organization of teachers in Detroit, requested the MEA-NEA school investigation, publicly announcing its action both in its own newsletter and in Detroit newspapers, no protest was made by DFT or by school officials. As noted earlier, when PR&R staff members were in Detroit to conduct preliminary inquiries in January 1966, they were assured of administrative cooperation should a PR&R investigation be conducted.

On March 31, 1966, however, four days before the Detroit investigation was to begin, PR&R staff members learned that the Detroit school administration and Board were concerned about the possibility that an unfair labor practices charge might be filed against them by the majority teachers organization if they permitted the investigation to take place. There was no way, of course, that the Detroit school officials could legally prohibit the investigation. They could, however, limit its scope and place barriers in its way that would generally complicate and prolong the fact-finding task of the investigative group. This they did.

MEA Withdrawal

On March 31, the MEA executive secretary reported to PR&R staff that of the six investigating committee members pledged by the state association, only two, both classroom teachers, had agreed to serve. Michigan school board members, he stated, had expressed unwillingness to participate unless an open invitation was issued to the investigating group by the Detroit Board of Education. Their position, reportedly, was based on an unwritten rule of schoolboardsmanship in the state.

Also on March 31, by resolution of its Board of Directors, the state association withdrew from joint participation in the Detroit case. A second resolution, adopted the next day, authorized cooperation as the executive secretary might deem advisable.

NEA Committee Enlarged

With an incomplete slate of Committee members and on Friday, April 1, only two days before the scheduled trip to Detroit, PR&R staff members assigned to the case manned the telephones seeking the assistance of colleagues in identifying educators whose backgrounds particularly qualified them for such a study and addressing emergency appeals to those who were recommended. By the end of the day, a nine-member committee was established and ready to meet in Detroit on April 3. Joining the group in Detroit was a Michigan classroom teacher selected by MEA, whose services as a committee member proved to be of great value throughout the course of the investigation. The MEA executive secretary also assigned a staff member who accompanied the NEA Special Committee as an observer during the initial phase of its investigation.

Members of the Detroit Special Committee, like those of all investigating committees of the NEA PR&R Commission, served without pay, being reimbursed only for expenses incurred in carrying out their assignment.

Telegrams

When the MEA withdrew from joint participation in the Detroit case, the PR&R executive secretary considered it advisable to reconfirm the investigation dates with the Detroit superintendent and Board of Education, although these dates had been rescheduled in conformity with the superintendent's request.

Accordingly, on April 1, 1966, telegrams were sent as follows:

> To the Superintendent of Public Schools
> Detroit, Michigan
>
> The NEA Special Committee will proceed with its study of Detroit Schools April 3 through 6. In view of your earlier assurance of cooperation we

> are planning to visit a number of the schools on Monday through Wednesday. Every effort will be made to avoid any interference with classes. Will call you Monday morning for an appointment.
>
> To the President of the Detroit Board of Education
>
> An NEA Special Committee will conduct the groundwork for its study of Detroit Schools April 3 through 6. Every effort will be made to avoid any interference with classes. The Committee appreciates the assurance of cooperation that has been given by the superintendent. The Committee would appreciate opportunity to confer with the Board on April 5.

The Detroit superintendent of schools was out of the city during the NEA Special Committee's first visit to Detroit from April 3 through 6, 1966. The superintendent did not reply to the telegram addressed to him on April 1. His staff assistants later told the Committee that the telegram had never been received.

Initial Phase of Investigation

When the NEA Special Committee arrived in Detroit on April 3, 1966, it issued a public statement containing the following announcement:

> This study is not concerned with the jurisdictional status of the Detroit teachers. Although the Committee was initially requested to come here by the Detroit Education Association, DEA did not choose anyone on the Committee and is not represented by members on the Committee. The Committee welcomes testimony and comments from school personnel, parents and PTA members, civic and city leaders, and other interested citizens.

During its first three days in Detroit, the NEA Special Committee met with approximately 100 Detroit citizens: members of the DEA Congress, Board of Directors, and staff; representatives of parent groups, social service agencies, and civil rights organizations; leaders of community action programs involved in antipoverty and equal opportunity efforts; and individual parents and teachers who were not representing any particular organization but were expressing their own concerns about school conditions.

It was during this initial phase of the investigation that the NEA Special Committee's attempts to visit public school buildings in Detroit were halted. In consultation with DEA officers and staff, the Special Committee had selected for visitation a sampling of schools in each of the three urban areas—the inner-city, transitional, and fringe areas. Six two-member teams of the NEA Special Committee and staff were to visit the selected schools. Except in four schools, however, the NEA teams were admitted only as far as the principal's office, where they were informed that the central administration had telephoned to instruct the principals not to answer their questions nor to show them the schools and to request the Special Committee members to telephone the central office immediately to speak with the superintendent's administrative assistant for employee organization relations. This official, the attorney referred to earlier, stated that the Detroit school administration had not been aware that school visits were part of the investigation plan. Administrative permission to continue the visits, he said, must be withheld, at least until a meeting could be held with the full Committee and its staff assistants to clarify the purpose and nature of the NEA inquiry.

The meeting took place at 4:00 P.M., April 4, with the attorney for employee organization relations serving as spokesman for the superintendent of schools. Three other members of the superintendent's administrative staff were present.

The attorney announced that his concern was to ensure that the Special Committee's inquiries would not in any way infringe upon the sole collective bargaining rights of the majority group of Detroit teachers. By permitting school visits without such assurance, he said, the Detroit Board of Education and administration might be making themselves liable to an unfair labor practice charge by DFT. He explained that the Michigan Labor Mediation Board had not yet heard any case requiring an interpretation of the Unfair Labor Practices Section of Public Act 379, which would be relevant to this particular situation. His own interpretation, he said, was based on cases under the National Labor Relations Board. Such cases, he stated, "make it quite clear that when you deal with a labor organization, if another labor organization comes around and the employer deals with the other group, he is subject to an unfair labor practice charge."

The executive secretary of the PR&R Commission explained that, although the Detroit study was requested by an affiliate of the NEA, the members of the Detroit Special Committee, like those of all PR&R investigating committees, comprised an independent fact-finding body whose purpose was to study the reported educational problems of Detroit with objectivity, with integrity, and in the public interest—not in the exclusive interests of any special group of teachers or administrators or citizens.

Special Committee members assured the attorney that the jurisdictional status of Detroit teachers organizations was irrelevant to their inquiries; and moreover, that those matters with which they were concerned—the conditions of teaching and learning in Detroit Public Schools—were matters rightfully in the public domain. Information about the school system—the quality of its educational program, services, physical plant, facilities, and equipment—should not be withheld from the citizens to whom the system is responsible and from whom it derives its support. It was explained by Committee members that because of their particular areas of professional experience and knowledge as educators, they had been asked by the NEA PR&R Commission to join in this study of allegedly serious problems in the Detroit school system—a study requested by DEA, but a study that would be carried out as a service to all citizens concerned with improvement of conditions in the city's public schools.

In response to these statements, the Detroit attorney maintained that the NEA Special Committee could not be regarded by the administration as a group of ordinary American citizens inquiring into school conditions; as appointees of the national affiliate of DEA, the investigating team members could only be treated as representatives of DEA interests. For the protection of the School Board and administration, he stated, he would advise them not to confer with the Special Committee nor to allow Committee members to interview employees in school buildings concerning salary, conditions of employment, or related issues. Answering the question of a Special Committee member, the attorney stated that guided tours of school buildings might be allowed if the Special Committee submitted a precise listing of schools to be visited, the persons to be interviewed, and the questions to be asked; if the Committee agreed to delete from its inquiries any questions relating to bargaining items; and if he had firm assurance from Committee members that, in their interviews, they would adhere strictly to the questions as specified and approved by the administration.

The NEA Special Committee's refusal to comply with these requests was based upon its conviction that a meaningful study could not be conducted under such rigid restrictions. The privileged bargaining area—defined by the attorney as off-limits to the NEA investigation—is broad and indefinite in scope; its boundaries not only encompass the mandatory items affecting salaries and terms and conditions of work but, at the discretion of the Board and bargaining unit, may also include items relating to educational programs, facilities, equipment, and supplies. Particularly in these discretionary areas, the working conditions of teachers are also the learning conditions of students.

In response to further questioning from the Committee, the attorney said that he could see no objection to permitting the group to visit the schools in the company of an authorized guide if the members agreed to make no inquiries of anyone on the school premises. This indication that a mute walk through the schools would be allowed even without a bill of particulars from the Special Committee concerning the nature of its inquiries was the only concession made by either party to the meeting of April 4.

Special Committee Announces Decision To Continue Investigation

> **_Detroit, April 6, 1966._ After careful consideration of a great amount of testimony and data from various sources about problems in the Detroit Public Schools, the Special Investigating Committee of the National Education Association has voted unanimously that, despite barriers raised against it, the investigation will continue and a report of the findings will be issued. . . .**
>
> **Although barred from its normal investigative procedure in the public school, the Committee has recognized that there are many sources of information about the schools which remain open. These sources will be pursued, the information will be obtained, the investigation will persist, a complete report will be issued.**
>
> . . . .
>
> **The Committee, invited to make its investigation by an affiliate—The Detroit Education Association—sees its role broadly as providing one more resource to the public which uses and owns the schools and has an overriding interest in their efficiency and quality.**
>
> **The investigating committee was prevented by the school administration from visiting the schools and freely talking to teachers and staff members.**
>
> **That the investigating committee was barred from the school is not the important point. It is, however, critical, that the public was thus barred also.[65]**

Fact-Finding Continues: Second Phase

The NEA Special Committee arranged for the staffing of a part-time office operation in Detroit from April 27 through May 15, 1966, for the purpose of gathering information relevant to its study and arranging interview schedules for a continuation of the on-site investigation by a fact-finding team composed of four Special Committee members and staff assistants. This group (above and hereinafter referred to as the NEA Subcommittee) met in Detroit from May 10 through 15, 1966, during which time a trip was made to Lansing for the purpose of conducting interviews with legislators, state school officials, and MEA officers and staff. In Detroit, the NEA Subcommittee interviewed school employees; parents; students; Wayne State University personnel; staff members of the Wayne County Intermediate School District; and representatives of church, social service, and other community and civic organizations.

Letters

In preparation for the continuance of the Detroit study, the NEA PR&R Commission's executive secretary on April 20, 1966, wrote to the Detroit superintendent of schools informing him that the NEA Subcommittee would be in the city from May 10 through 15, 1966, and again requested an opportunity to meet with members of the administrative staff, and submitted the following proposal concerning school visitations:

> [The attorney and administrative assistant for employee organization relations] did inform the Special Committee (during its first trip to Detroit) that its members would be permitted to walk through some schools in Detroit, guided by designated members of the school staff, if the Committee members agreed not to interview school personnel on the school premises. At the time of our meeting with [the attorney] the Special Committee was not yet in a position to determine whether a silent tour of the schools would be of value to the study. Subsequently, however, it has concluded that it would be helpful to visit the school premises and to see firsthand the buildings, the grounds, and equipment. The Subcommittee is willing to make these tours with the agreement that it conduct no interviews on the school premises. At this time, therefore, we ask your permission to make school visitations during the second visit to Detroit.

The Detroit superintendent's reply, dated April 26, contained the following statements:

> As I indicated to you when you stopped in my office, Detroit welcomes visits from individuals or groups who wish to get acquainted with school practices for their information. However, when a teacher organization which is not the legally recognized representative of the teachers invites in an investigating team, and wants the superintendent or the Board of Education to confer with the team and cooperate with it as an agency representing or operating at the request of that group, the problem of unfair practice under the contractual relationship must be considered.

The superintendent prescribed the following conditions as prerequisite to administrative authorization of the Special Committee's fact-finding assignment in Detroit:

> 1. Written assurance that the Committee was not in any way operating at the request of or as an agency for the Detroit Education Association, and
> 2. Written consent of the Detroit Federation of Teachers that the Special Committee of the National Education Association make the study.

Excerpts from the letter dated May 4, 1966, from the executive secretary of the NEA PR&R Commission to the Detroit superintendent of schools:

> We have received your letter of April 26 concerning the investigation that is being conducted into conditions in the Detroit Public School System. All that we requested was an opportunity "to get acquainted with school practices" for the information of the Special Investigation Committee: information of a nature that we would expect would be made available to any group of educators regardless of their affiliation or nature of their interests. The Committee did not ask you to "authorize or invite" it to continue the fact-finding assignment.
>
> . . . .

Although there is undoubtedly overlapping membership between the Michigan Education Association, the Detroit Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association, the fact remains that the National Education Association is an independent organization with individual memberships. No informed member of the profession or his official representative could seriously believe that the NEA has any interest in negotiation with the Detroit Board of Education. The purpose of the NEA as stated in its charter is "to elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States." This we will continue to do in Detroit and throughout the United States.

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